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GDR GENEVA COMMITTEE DELEGATE ON ARMS POLICY

LD032008 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1246 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Geneva, 3 Feb (ADN) -- "The comprehensive disarmament program should, and must lend new impetus to the disarmament negotiations." This was stated by Ambassador Gerhard Herder, head of the GDR delegation in the Geneva disarmament committee, in a talk with ADN about the latest proposal by the group of socialist states in this body. "The main issue is the resumption and intensive continuation of the negotiations which have been broken off during the last few years unilaterally by the United States, but the more active utilization of all negotiating channels is also required." This comprehensive disarmament program, which the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament issues is to pass in the summer of this year, will, in the view of the socialist states, not only contain all possible and desirable steps in the sphere of curbing the arms race, and of disarmament, but also the solemn undertaking by all states to adhere strictly to the principles of the UN Charter.

With reference to the aim of the disarmament program, Ambassador Herder said: "In the short term, the most pressing goal is the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and a halt to the arms race. The ultimate goal, which is to be achieved by a whole series of agreed-upon measures within a definite trade framework, is to bring about general and complete disarmament with effective international controls." The program covers all types of weapons even though disarmament in the sphere of nuclear weapons has a clear priority. The first concrete step would have to be a statement by all states in possession of nuclear weapons to renounce any attempt to be the first to use such weapons. This would be followed by a halt in the production of nuclear weapons of all kinds and the gradual reduction of stockpiles until their complete elimination. Measures taken in the first stage must also include a halt in the production and introduction of new types and systems of nuclear weapons, for example the neutron weapon. This category of measures will also involve a further limitation and decrease in strategic armament.

Ambassador Herder continued that the proposal by the socialist states cited under the same point the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons testing. Moreover, it provides for a strengthening of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons by means of universal membership, the conclusion of a convention on strengthening the security guarantees of nonnuclear states and an agreement on the nonstationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of states not in possession of nuclear weapons at present. Apart from disarmament steps in the field of chemical weapons, of other weapons of mass annihilation and conventional armament, the socialist states also propose a reduction in military budgets, the GDR ambassador continued. Numerous regional measures were dealt with under a separate point which covers several continents. However, a condition for implementing the program is that disarmament measures must proceed on a just and equitable basis. The aim in each stage must be that of undiminished security of state together with the lowest possible threshold of armament and of military force," Ambassador Herder added.

GDR MBFR SPOKESMAN URGES INITIAL ACCORD

LD041546 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Vienna, 4 Feb (ADN) -- Ambassador Andre Wieland, head of the GDR delegation at the Vienna talks on reducing arms and troops in central Europe, stressed on Thursday that the policy of the Warsaw Treaty states continues to be to reduce military confrontation through continuing the talks and through corresponding initiatives. The socialist countries oppose the imperialist strong-arm policy, confrontation and poisoning international dialogue. Andre Wieland recalled Erich Honecker's party plenum remark that the drafting of an initial agreement in Vienna while excluding controversial issues is the order of the hour. Wieland stated that in view of the current conditions the reaction of the Western participating states to the proposal to draft an initial agreement will be a test of their basic attitude to the Vienna talks.

TRADE, PAYMENT PROTOCOL WITH USSR SIGNED

AU042003 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A protocol on trade and payments between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union has been signed in Moscow. The 1982 trade exchange between the two countries is expected to substantially increase and will amount to about R9 billion, which is much higher than provided for in the long-term trade agreement. The document was signed by the foreign trade ministers of the two countries, Khristo Khristov and Nikolay Patolichev.

The exhcange of trade is based on the results of the constantly developing specialization and production-sharing in the various branches of national economy. The Soviet Union continues to occupy first place among our foreign trade partners. More than half of all Bulgarian exchange of trade is with the USSR. The protocol provides for a substantial increase in the mutual deliveries of machines and equipment. In 1982 the Soviet Union will deliver to Bulgaria highly productive metalcutting machines, power supply, drilling and geological equipment, road construction machines, trucks and cars, bearings, tractors and other agricultural technology, oil and oil products, natural gas, electric power, coal, coke, ferrous ores and concentrates, timber, cellulose, paper and cotton.

Bulgaria will deliver to the Soviet Union transportation and loading equipment, agricultural machines, computers, various electrical-technical products, furniture and other things. The Bulgarian chemical industry will also deliver to the Soviet Union calcinated soda and various other goods of the Bulgarian chemical industry, mass consumption goods, fresh and processed fruits and vegetables.

Dimitur Zhulev, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR; deputy ministers; Gosho Dzhambov, Bulgarian trade representative to the Soviet Union; high-ranking officials of the Soviet Foreign Trade Ministry and journalists attended the signing ceremony.

KUBADINSKI-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR GREECE

AU041635 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A delegation led by Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, left for Athens today to attend the celebrations devoted to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

The delegation was seen off at Sofia Airport by Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee on Culture, by deputy chairmen of the Fatherland Front National Council and of the committee on culture, as well as by Andonios Nomikos, Greek ambassador to Bulgaria.

POLISH EDITOR WRONSKI SPEAKS AT CONFERENCE

AU042116 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] At the Polish information and cultural center in Sofia, Stanislaw Wronski, editor in chief of the NOWE DROGI journal, a theoretical organ of the PZPR Central Committee, and chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, made a speech to the Sofia mass information media.

He emphasized that 2 months after the introduction of martial law in Poland, the situation in the country has normalized. The Military Council of National Salvation encountered full support and understanding on the part of the Polish working people. Regardless of the course undertaken by the Reagan administration and by certain West European countries, Poland, with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, will overcome all difficulties which it faces, Wronski emphasized. He also spoke about the aid rendered by the Bulgarian people, and expressed confidence that the Polish communists feel responsible for the cause of communism not only to the Polish workers and people but also to the fraternal peoples of the socialist community.

CELEBRATION OF DELCHEV'S BIRTH ANNIVERSARY NOTED

AU041957 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Vratsa, 4 Feb (BTA) -- The 110th anniversary of the birth of Gotse Delchev, a revolutionary, democrat, ideologue and organizer of the revolutionary movement in Macedonia and the region of Edirne at the end of the last and the opening of this century, was ceremoniously celebrated here today.

Gotse Delchev was born on January 23, 1872 in Kukush. The anniversary of his birth was ceremoniously celebrated in Sofia, Balgoevgrad and other cities of the country.

In the town of Vratsa the anniversary was marked with a meeting and the unveiling of a monument of Gotse Delchev.

The monument which is in the reserve officers' school was unveiled by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and minister of national defence.

He said in his speech that in the pantheon of immortal heroes the name of Gotse Delchev glows with unfading glory. It stands next to the names of such giants of the national liberation struggle of the Bulgarian people as Levski, Botev, Benkovski. Gotse Delchev remained for ever a high example of dedication to homeland and people, said Army General Dobri Dzhurov.

BRIEFS

TRADE DELEGATION IN ROME -- Rome, 29 Jan (BTA) -- The 12th session of the joint commission for economic, industrial and technological cooperation between Bulgaria and Italy ended here today. It was stated at the session that bilateral economic relations have developed positively in the period after the 11th session of the commission. Trade has increased considerably, industrial cooperation has expanded. This development is a result of the expansion of contacts between the representatives of the two governments and of the business circles of the two countries. The participants in the session noted that interest has been bilaterally evinced and that possibilities exist for the deepening of cooperation, especially in the field of mechanical engineering, chemical industry, metallurgy, the light and the food industries and tourism. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Tsanko Gitsov, deputy-minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria. The delegation was received by Mr Nicola Carria, minister of foreign trade of Italy, and by the minister of tourism and public entertainment Mr Nicolae Signorello. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 29 Jan 82 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT -- Sofia, 29 Jan (BTA) -- A scientific and cultural cooperation plan was signed here today by Bulgaria and the Arab Republic of Egypt for the years 1982 and 1983. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 29 Jan 82 AU]

RUDE PRAVO REJECTS 'LIES' ABOUT POLISH INTERNEES

AU041220 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 82 p 7

[Warsaw dispatch by "(JL)": "Against Lies and Slanders; Facts on the Real Conditions of the Internees' Life"]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Feb -- There are quite a lot of various, so-called guaranteed reports on the internees, both as to their number and as to their material and other conditions. These reports are being disseminated not only by the Western subversive centers, headed by the heckling "Radio Free Europe" transmitter, but also by the posthumous offspring of the chiefs of "Solidarity," KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

They are intentionally mystifying the public, striving to turn such people as, for instance, Rulewski, Rozplochowski or Gwiazda and Kuron into "martyrs" and "heroes."

Actually there is no question of "tons of thousands of internees"; as the official authorities of the Polish People's Republic have confirmed to us, by 29 January 4,129 persons were being held interned in various places in the country. So far 1,300 persons have been released.

The "Solidarity" documents reveal that, after its bosses had taken over power, not thousands, but tens of thousands of Polish communists and Polish patriots were to have been either directly liquidated or imprisoned. The interning of the inspirers and organizers of the overthrow of the people's power in Poland is thus a logical consequence of their behavior.

Professor Zawadski, Polish minister of justice, has declared that there is justified apprehension that, were they to find themselves free today, the internees would not respect the legal code and would continue to pursue activities which threaten the state's security and defense ability. Quite a few of them confirm this even now, by their behaviour and their statements. The minister of justice also stated that the law digest of 31 December 1981 clearly defined the special status of internees, one which differs fundamentally from the status of temporarily imprisoned. An internee has qualitatively different material conditions during his stay in the internment center. He is assured of a diet of 2,600 calories daily; he has the possibility to get diet food on a physician's advice; he may get two food packages a month, each weighing 3 kg; in the canteen he may bud foodstuffs and tobacco to the value of Z860 a month; to say nothing of the possibility to conduct unrestricted correspondence, maintain contacts with his lawyer, participate in religious services and maintain contacts with his family and relatives. At the same time some people in the West are flooding the public there with fairy tales about "concentration camps," in which the internees have allegedly been placed...

Professor Zawadski, minister of justice, stated that in the course of 6 weeks about 9,000 visits by relatives had taken place in the internment center; that the internees had received 8,000 food packages; and that 237 church masses had been celebrated there, by high church dignitaries.

In fact, the Polish press carries reports on the internees' constant contacts with the Catholic hierarchy. For instance, it writes about Primate Glemp's visits. Minister Zawadski stressed that internment is not an act of revenge, but a form of self-defense.

HODIC KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ARTICLE VIEWS CIA, POLAND

LD041248 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Czechoslovak agent Josef Hodic, in an article carried by the Soviet paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, relates some details connected with the long-term plan of the CIA concerning subversive activity against Poland.

He stated that former Polish People's Army Colonel Michal Hecynzki, who had lent himself to intelligence activity, participated in the plan. When he left Poland in 1977 he wrote an extensive analysis of the Polish army and its role within the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces for the CIA. The American intelligence service continues to cooperate with many subversive organizations, including the Polish Socialist Party which has organizational cells in some capitalist countries such as Britain and the FRG. This organization had decided that money received from the CIA should be passed to counterrevolutionaries from the so-called Polish political and Social Self-Defense Committee or Solidarity.

IRANIAN-PUBLISHED CIA DOCUMENT SHOWS ISRAELI TIES

AU041142 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Feb 82 p 6

[CTK New York dispatch: "Companions in Espionage"]

[Text] New York, CTK -- The Israeli espionage service, Mossad, maintains contacts with highly-placed officials in every country in which Israel is interested and closely cooperates with the espionage agencies of many West European, as well as African, Asian and Latin American countries. This is stated in a document of the American Central Intelligence Agency, CIA, that was taken hold of by Iranian students upon seizing the U.S. Embassy in Tehran 2 years ago. This document, along with other classified materials from the same source, was published by the daily Washington POST on Monday.

The report on the Mossad's activities and methods states that its work consists of actions against "Palestinian terrorists," which means against members and leading figures of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and of secret military, political and economic operations, especially on the African Continent.

Between the CIA and the Israeli espionage service, there are traditional "close working relations," the document states. Mossad and its various organizations furnish the United States especially with extensive data on the Arab world. However, one of the tasks of Israeli espionage is also to gather information about secret American policy and decisions concerning Israel. As the CIA document concedes, it is usual for Israeli agents to try to blackmail or bribe American Government employees, tap their telephone lines and install eavesdropping devices in their apartments and offices.

In acquiring agents and data, Israeli espionage organizations rely on various Jewish organizations abroad. Israeli intelligence agents operate abroad in various commercial firms, tourist offices, the El Al Airline and so forth, the CIA document about the Israeli espionage service states.

FOJTIK RECEIVES CPSU PROPAGANDA DELEGATION

LD041454 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik today received a group of CPSU party workers led by Vladimir Sevruk, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. In a comradely discussion they exchanged experiences and findings from ideological work and the activity of the mass media.

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON CSSR-SOVIET TRADE

AU041500 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 February on page 6 carries a 3,100-word interview by its Moscow correspondent Rudolf Ittmann with the councillor-ambassador and minister plenipotentiary, Dr Emil Misovsky, head of the CSSR trade mission in the USSR. The interview, headlined "Expansion of Export Potentials to USSR," deals with the 1981 results of Czechoslovak-Soviet trade and with the prospects of its further promotion.

Misovsky opens the interview by saying that last year the bilateral trade turnover amounted to R8.4 billion, which was a 15.7 percent increase over 1980. While Czechoslovakia's export plan was fulfilled 106.8 percent (the export volume amounted to R4.113 billion and was 14 percent higher than in 1980), the import plan was fulfilled 99.4 percent (its volume was R4.287 billion, 16.7 percent more than in 1980). According to Misovsky, "The fulfillment of our export tasks to the USSR required much more effort than in the past," But it was precisely this effort, Misovsky adds, that helped to "strengthen even more Czechoslovakia's positions in Soviet foreign trade" and make it the Soviet Union's second most important trade partner (after the GDR).

Misovsky goes on to discuss the structure of Czechoslovak exports, noting that machinery and equipment account for rougly 75 percent of them. In this context, he mentions "a special order that is without parallel in the world," an order for the delivery of 12 sets of equipment for the production of urea. In 1981 Czechoslovakia put into operation two such facilities (in Cherkassy and Dneprodzerzhinsk) and completed the deliveries for a similar plant in Angarsk. "Equally large and extensive," according to Misovsky, are Czechoslovakia's deliveries of equipment for large Soviet ammonia plants.

Misovsky then mentions that in 1981 Czechoslovak enterprises delivered equipment for a total of 23 Soviet plants. Speaking about the most important of those deliveries, he refers to the equipment for the production of ethylene for the Salavat plant with an annual production output of 300,000 tons; to the phosphorus-grinding mills in Karatau; to the equipment for catalytic reforming for a Moscow petrochemical plant, with an annual output of 1 million tons of high-octane gasoline; and to the delivery of "more than 13,000 tons of equipment" for the quarto 3000 rolling mill plant in Zhdanov. He also reports that in 1981 Czechoslovakia delivered to the USSR 1,400 metal-working machines; 500 forging and stamping machines; 315 locomotives; 600 streetcars; 400 cooling systems; the equipment for breweries in Moscow and Kiev, with an annual production capacity of 1 million hectoliters each; equipment for 7 dairy plants; and 1,300 automatic knitting machines, 480 spindleless spinning machines and 3,000 pneumatic looms. Speaking about the export of vehicles, Misovsky notes that since the beginning of cooperation in this area Czechoslovakia has exported to the USSR 23,000 Tatra trucks, 11,000 Skoda towing vehicles, almost 19,000 refrigerator trucks, and 1.5 million motorcycles. Even though a plant for carrying out general overhauls of Tatra trucks was opened in Nizhnovartovsk in Western Siberia last year, Misovsky notes the existence of "difficulties in the operation of our vehicles," caused by "arrears in the range of our deliveries."

Misovsky also notes last year's "successful filfillment" of Czechoslovak deliveries of consumer goods to the Soviet Union. The overfulfillment of the planned exports of consumer goods made it possible, according to Misovsky, to import from the Soviet Union 8,000 Zhiguli passenger cars over and above the originally planned "contingent."

Speaking about Czechoslovakia's imports, Misovsky notes the growing importance of Soviet engineering products. He refers in this context to the delivery of Soviet equipment for the paper and pulp mills in Ruzomberok and Paskov and for nuclear powerplants in Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany; to the delivery of Soviet mining and construction technology and of Soviet cars for the Prague subway; and to the 1981 imports of 10,000 Soviet refrigerators, 10,000 color television sets, and an unspecified number of portable radio receivers, watches, electric razors and other products.

Moving on To Czechoslovak imports of energy and materials, Misovsky says that in 1981 the Soviet Union delivered "17 million tons of iron ore materials, including manganese and chromium ores, ferro-alloy and pig iron; 100,000 tons of aluminum; 2.2 billion kwh of electricity; 32,000 tons of asbestos; 60,000 tons of ammonia; 165,000 tons of apatite concentrate; and more than 300,000 tons of mineral fertilizer." Speaking about natural gas imports, Misovsky notes that "our import had been reduced, in connection with the breakdown in the Duslo Sala enterprise, but we reached an agreement with the Soviet supplier on certain changes so that in this area, too, the USSR fulfilled its obligations."

Having briefly outlined Czechoslovak participation in projects on Soviet territory (Soyuz gas pipeline, Khmelnitskaya nuclear powerplant, Mozyr fodder yeast plant, facilities for the extration and processing of iron ore), Misovsky goes on to discuss the prospects for zechoslovak-Soviet trade relations.

He notes that in 1982 the trade turnover should exceed R9 billion and by the end of the current 5-year plan it should amount to R13-14 billion. He says that Czechoslovakia will have to seek new possibilities for expanding its exports, to be able to finance the increasingly costly raw material and energy imports. He describes it as "currently the most urgent task" to balance the R900 million trade balance deficit that is part of the long-term Czechoslovak-Soviet trade agreement. Another important problem, according to Misovsky, is the fact that "as a result of changes in our partner's investment program, some R700 million worth of investment complexes drop out of our deliveries as entered in the long-term agreement." These originally planned deliveries must be made up for by other exports, he says.

Speaking in conclusion about ways of overcoming the trade balance deficit, Misovsky urges innovation and improved quality of Czechoslovak products, so as to achieve higher export prices, as well as more intensive production cooperation with Soviet partners.

PITRA VIEWS ATTEMPTS TO DECREASE FOOD IMPORTS

LD042040 Prague CTK in English 1721 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 4 Feb (CTK) -- The need to ensure further development of agriculture and food supplies mainly from domestic resources was stressed here today by Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Pitra.

Speaking at a meeting of scientists and research workers from the field of agriculture and food, Pitra said Czechoslovakia is trying to reduce its dependence on food imports through maximum orientation on domestic resources and wider cooperation with other CMEA countries.

He pointed out that efforts to maintain the high food consumption, particularly meat, influence not only the structure of agricultural production but also the extent and structure of imports. Self-sufficiency is not only a question of production but also consumption which can grow as domestic resources and means permit, in accordance with the principles of a rational diet. Agricultural enterprises must cope with an entirely new situation caused by substantial reduction of feed grain imports (by about a million metric tonnes against the average of the past several years) and by restricted consumption of fuels and energy, particularly diesel oil, Pitra said.

Lower grain imports necessitate regulatory measures in pig breeding, and lowering of livestock production for the market in 1982. This and other factors made it necessary to raise the retail prices of meat.

Reduced consumption of motor fuels will require changes in the management and organization of large-scale agricultural production including wider use of machinery with lower fuel consumption.

Frantisek Pitra spoke of the achievements of the Czechoslovak agricultural science in improvement of grain varieties, in the production of oleaginous plants, in veterinary medicine, genetics and breeding. Faster progress is necessary in developing new varieties of sugar beet, potatoes, legumes and fodder grasses. Research work must also concentrate on livestock feeding and rational use of feeds, he said.

FUEL CONSUMPTION TARGETED FOR REDUCTIONS

LD041606 Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 4 Feb 82

[By Marie Beckova]

[Text] Prague, 4 Feb (CTK) -- The Czechoslovak economy needs for its development an ever more disproportionate amount of energy.

Unfortunately, the country ranks third to fifth [as received] in the world in terms of the per capita consumption of primary energy resources.

Czechoslovakia's per capita annual consumption is 7.5 metric tonnes of standard fuel, i.e. more than in other states with advanced industry. For instance the figures are 6 tonnes in the FRG, .9 [as received] tonnes in France, 4.3 tonnes in Austria and 4.2 tonnes in Hungary.

The chief cause of the high energy consumption in the Czechoslovak economy is low efficiency in the use of fuels and energy, high material consumption, and low use of machinery and equipment. Improvement of this situation is the target of the state program of rationalization in the consumption and use of fuels and energy, according to which relative savings should amount to 13.5 million tonnes of standard fuel in 1985 as compared with 1980.

In view of the rising prices of fuels and energy in world markets, Czechoslovakia is reducing this year's oil imports by an amount equalling 2.6 million tonnes of standard fuel against 1980. In the following years the reduction will be 3.5 million tonnes of standard fuel. The Czechoslovak Government has at the same time adopted measures to save fuels, heat and petrol corresponding to the new situation.

The lower amount of petrol will influence the situation in transport. Cuts will have to be made in the first place in the enterprise transport by lorries which are not sufficiently exploited in all cases. On the other hand, the amount of goods transported by electrified railway and river boats is to rise. As regards passenger transport, cuts will have to be made in home tights [as received], and bus routes running parallel with railways. This is to save 240,000 tonnes of petrol and fuel (350,000 tonnes of standard fuel) this year as compared with 1980.

Changes in the structure of production are to save 1.6 million tonnes of standard fuel by 1985. The development of black metallurgy will be slowed down, capital construction will stagnate, and cement production and chemical oil processing will be limited. Liquid fuels will have to be replaced by lignite or possibly wood. Annual savings of 200,000 tonnes of standard fuel are expected due to lower petrol purchases following last year's rise in petrol prices. The government estimates that the new measures will bring this year's energy consumption down by 6.67 million tonnes of standard fuel against 1980.

Remuneration and preference are in store in enterprises and organizations for individuals and teams who save energy. Steps will be taken against those who surpass the set norms of consumption. For instance, enterprises will have to contribute to the state budget twice to five times the price of oil, petrol or other oil products they consume above their limit. This fine will be deducted from its employees' wages fund. On the other hand, this fund will be increased by the amount saved on fuels and energy.

STROUGAL INSPECTS ELECTROTECHNICAL PRODUCTS

LD041216 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, and Ladislav Gerle, deputy federal premier, inspected some new products of our consumer electronics industry at the federal Ministry of Electrotechnical Industry in Prague today. Milan Kubat, federal minister of electrotechnical industry, acquainted them with this sector's innovation plan and its implementation. Comrade Lubomir Strougal stressed the importance of a more rapid implementation of the findings of science and technology in all branches of the national economy and in the production of consumer goods for the public. He stressed the importance of electronics, which we have paid much to develop, especially in recent years. After the inspection the federal premier met the leading representatives of the ministry; they discussed the tasks of the electrotechnical industry in this 5-year plan and its long-term prospects in the future.

UPCOMING NATO NUCLEAR EXERCISE SCORED

LD042234 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Hamburg, 4 Feb (ADN) -- The Pentagon has drawn up a secret plan for the "Exercise Ivy League /Rex 82" a [name rendered in English] nuclear war maneuver. Press reports reveal that this first large-scale nuclear maneuver, which will be staged at the beginning of March, will be conducted with a rare degree of realism.

During the 5-day maneuvers, which will be conducted by computer and without troops, 22 senior military commands, including the joint chiefs of staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, the Supreme Allied Command Atlantic in Norfolk and the command of the U.S. Armed Forces Europe in Stuttgart, will be put on the alert.

The main test will be the implementation of the strictly secret "single integrated operations plan" [rendered in English]. It contains details of the targets, the timing and various types of weapons to be used in a nuclear strike, which "need not be directed only against the USSR."

GREEK PARTY DELEGATION CONTINUES VISIT

Florakis Lays Wreath

LD041106 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Kharilaos Florakis, first secretary of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee, paid tribute in the GDR today to the victims of fascism and militarism. He laid a wreath at the Unter Den Linden Memorial in Berlin. Kharilaos Florakis was accompanied by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Honecker Receives Delegation

LD041610 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1439 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 4 Feb (ADN) -- General Secretary of the SED Central Committee Erich Honecker had a fraternal meeting with a Greek Communist Party Central Committee delegation led by First Secretary Kharilaos Florakis. It includes Nikos Kaloudhis, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, and also Kostas Patikas, candidate member of the Central Committee. The delegation earlier placed a wreath at the Unter Den Linden memorial in Berlin.

In an extensive exchange of views, the leading representatives of the two parties discussed the main issues in the current international situation and briefed each other on the policy of the SED and the Greek Communist Party. They described the most important and urgent task of the peace-loving peoples of every country as securing peace through arms limitation and disarmament and through thwarting the imperialist confrontation policy threatening the peoples.

Honecker and Florakis underlined their determination to continue working for the continued cohesion of the international communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism. They discussed measures to develop and strengthen fraternal relations between the SED and the Greek Communist Party.

The discussion, which expressed the full agreement of the two parties in all issues discussed and the spirit of fraternal friendship between the SED and the Greek Communist Party, was attended by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; and Alfred Marter, deputy head of the SED Central Committee International Relations Department. A joint communique was signed on the meeting.

SED DELEGATION VISITS LYON, POWER STATION

LD041754 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpt] Paris, 4 Feb (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee delegation at the French Communist Party Congress led by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, today made an excursion to Lyon at the invitation of the French state railway.

At their arrival in the city on the Rhine the delegation were cordially welcomed by representatives of the French Communist Party and leading representatives of the nuclear power industry. After a briefing on the French energy program Kurt Hager and other foreign delegations visited the nuclear power station at Creys-Malville near Lyon.

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SAO TOME-PRINCIPE

AU041147 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Feb 82 p 2

[Summary] Sao Tome (ADN) -- On Monday Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe [MLSTP] and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, received for a friendly talk Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission. Dieter Albrecht conveyed a message and greetings from Erich Honecker, which were cordially reciprocated by Pinto da Costa. President da Costa praised the friendly relations between the two parties and states. At the end of his visit, Dieter Albrecht signed an agreement on the development and deepening of economic cooperation through 1985. The agreement envisages the import of Cacao by the GDR and the export of machines, equipment and products of the light industry from the GDR to Sao Tome and Principe.

SINDERMANN LAUDS SECURITY MINISTRY EMPLOYEES

LD041552 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] All members of the GDR Ministry of State Security and its security regiment Feliks Dzierzynski today received an expression of thanks and recognition from the GDR party and state leadership for their successful work in reliably protecting socialist achievements and the peaceful life of GDR citizens. To mark the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Ministry, State Council Deputy Chairman Horst Sindermann presented high state awards to meritorious members. Through their exemplary and selfless work, he said, they play a particular role in making the Ministry a reliable protection and security organ of socialist state power, respected by citizens and feared by the enemies of the GDR.

COMMENTARY DISCUSSES CHRISTIAN PEACE EFFORTS

DW041109 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 0720 GMT 31 Jan 82

[Commentary by Guenther Grewe, member of the Presidium of the National Front National Council, directly following regular broadcast of Protestant Church service]

[Excerpts] The situation being what it is today, we cannot but state that peace is in serious danger because the arms buildup policy of imperialism in general, and the United States in particular, endangers mankind's most precious possession. In the present situation, in which all commonsense is needed for peace, imperialism is showing its true face. It disregards humanity's desire for peace, happiness and understanding and instead puts its stakes on mortal fear, cold war and nuclear weapons. This is why the National Council [of the National Front] on behalf of the citizens of our country raised its voice and demanded: The world in which we live wishes to live in peace. It must not perish in a nuclear inferno. The politicians who fail to comprehend that peace is most important must be curbed.

We agree with what Deacon Wolfgang Kerst of Weimar said when he, during the discussion at the meeting of the National Council, proceeded from the premise that constantly more Christians in our country are aware that the peace strategy of socialism and the advocacy of peace by millions of people in the world represent a force for saving us from a nuclear catastrophe. What matters is to do the right thing for peace in full awareness.

This also is the idea on which many working groups of the Christian circles in the National Front committees are basing their activities. By their activities they propose to help making everybody aware that the social root of war and misery is the exploiter society, imperialism with its propelling force, the pursuit of profit. It is necessary to restrict its options with peaceful means. This requires the strengthening of the forces of peace -- the social basis of peace being socialism -- and the support of the anti-imperialist movement as well as the promotion of treaties on disarmament limitation [as heard] and disarmament.

The working groups for Christian circles consider it one of their tasks to promote jointly with the members of the clergy the process of recognition of these interrelations. They provide answers to the question as to what needs to be done now to change the dangerous situation that has emerged, and the answer is this: The dialogue between East and West must be continued. To live means to solve controversial problems between the states by means of negotiations.

Following a suggestion by Moscow Patriarch Pimen it is planned to hold a world conference of religious dignitaries in May this year for the salvation of life from a nuclear catastrophe. It is this conference's declared objective to support the politicians and the political forces who advocate concrete disarmament steps, pursue the solution of international problems via negotiations and by their initiative advocate the consolidation of confidence and cooperation between the states and peoples. This work for peace is part of the political activity of the working groups for Christian circles.

The working groups for Christian circles have set for themselves the task of intensifying their efforts toward better living up to their responsibility. This includes discussing all questions pertaining to domestic and foreign policies and explaining the citizens' initiatives, because in our country everyone has broad room for his initiatives irrespective of his social origin, creed or ideology. Deacon Kerst puts it this way: Whoever as a Christian in our state wishes to live up to his share of responsibility for peace and the well being of his fellow man has the best option of doing so by strengthening socialism to the best of his ability. I endorse this view unreservedly.

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SWISS -- Berlin, 4 Feb (ADN) -- The further development of trade and economic relations was the main theme of the third meeting of the GDR-Switzerland mixed commission. The meeting which ended in Berlin on Thursday was held on the basis of the long-term trade and economic agreement between the GDR Government and the Swiss Federal Council. On the occasion of the meeting, State Secretary Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers, received the head of the Swiss delegation, Ambassador Dr Benedikt von Tscharner, for a discussion. A joint protocol was signed at the conclusion of the talks. Bilateral trade and economic relations are to be expanded, particularly in the fields of mechanical engineering, electrical engineering/electronics and chemical industry. Joint interest was expressed in making increased use of the opportunities for mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technological cooperation, and measures to this end discussed. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1221 GMT 4 Feb 82 LD]

4 FEB SESSION OF MILITARY COUNCIL REPORTED

LD041838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski chaired a session of the Military Council of National Salvation today in Warsaw. A few dozen representatives of the Polish countryside, of private farmers, of workforces employed by state and cooperative agriculture enterprises and of the Cooperative of Agricultural Circles participated in the session. Also there were members of the PZPR, ZSL and people who do not belong to any party, as well as representatives of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and the Union of Rural Youth.

During the meeting, members of the Military Council of National Salvation familiarized those present with the country's sociopolitical situation and with the activities of the Polish People's Army and state authorities in the conditions of the state of martial law. The most important tasks to be executed by the nation's patriotic forces in order to lead the country out of the socioeconomic crisis were outlined.

Particular attention was focused on the providing of food to the nation and on problems of development in the countryside. The discussion was characterized by full support for the decisions and resolutions of the Military Council of National Salvation which aim at normalizing the sociopolitical situation in the country. The role and tasks of Polish agriculture in this field were discussed, above all the efficient carrying out of spring field work, the utilization of each and every bit of land, the need for an increase in agricultural productivity and improvements in purchasing, and the need for an ever better agrotechnical culture.

Attention was also drawn to the necessity of improving the supplies of means of production to the countryside and making the work of agricultural services more efficient. Jerzy Wojtecki, minister of agriculture and food economy, made his views known with regard to a number of problems raised during the discussion.

Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, took the floor at the end of the meeting.

DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES VOLUNTARY RECRUITMENT

LD041540 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense has announced the voluntary recruitment of candidates to warrant officer schools and vocational schools for NCO's.

Training at warrant officer schools last 1-3 years, depending on whether the candidate is from a secondary vocational school, a general secondary school, or a vocational training school. Applicants to warrant officer schools must meet the following requirements: Polish citizenship, physical fitness for military service as a candidate for a regular soldier, single marital status, and aged less than 24.

Candidates for professional NCO's must meet the following requirements: aged more than 17, completed studies at a vocational training school, or at least two grades of secondary school, physical fitness for military service, and an unblemished record.

More detailed information is provided for interested candidates to military schools by the military recruiting boards [wojskowa komenda uzupelnien] and headquarters of military units.

CZYREK, CHEYSSON DISCUSS JARUZELSKI LETTER

LD040256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek has visited his French counterpart Claude Cheysson. They discussed issues of interest to both sides, including the matters mentioned in General Jaruzelski's letter to the president of France, Francois Mitterrand. The main features of the conversation were sincerity and openness.

Lifting of Martial Law

NC041943 Paris AFP in English 1937 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Paris, 4 Feb (AFP) -- Almost all martial law measures imposed in Poland will be lifted by the end of this month, Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek predicted here today.

He said however that restrictions to be lifted would "not yet" include those imposed on the press. Also, he said, the liberalization would not necessarily mean an immediate abrogation of the state of siege.

Mr Czyrek, who is a member of both the Polish Communist Party Politburo and Secretariat, arrived here yesterday to attend the current congress of the French Communist Party. He made his statements in a conversation with newsmen.

He said that the some 4,000 people still interned in Poland would be progressively set free, adding that the authorities would not object if they sought to leave Poland.

Mr Czyrek also reported that contacts between state and church continued in Poland, both at the highest level between General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the country's top leaders, and the Polish primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, and within joint state-church commissions.

The current visit of Msgr Glemp at the Vatican could lead to a direct dialogue between Warsaw and the Vatican, the minister stated.

GDANSK DEMONSTRATORS INVESTIGATED, SENTENCED

LD041906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The Gdansk Voivodship public prosecutor, on the basis of Article 46, Paragraph 2 of the decree of martial law, has started summary proceedings against the organizers and instigators of the street incidents which took place on 30 January in the center of Gdansk. Article 137 of the criminal code has been applied to the people who participated directly in the destruction of public property. The investigation of those who attempted to vandalize public buildings has been started on the basis of Article 275, Paragraph 2 of the criminal code. Criminal-administrative collegia have handed down sentences of 3 months detention for 51 people; 17 people have been sentenced to 2 months and 33 people to 1 month of detention. A further 33 people have been fined between Z2,000 and Z5,000.

ZIEMOWIT MINE STRIKE LEADERS TRIED, SENTENCED

LD041854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The organizers and leaders of the 12-day strike at the Ziemowit mine have been tried at the Silesian Military District Court. Eleven former employees at the mine, who directed a strike between 15 and 24 December last year, were on trial.

The court found the accused guilty and sentenced Miroslaw Stroczynski to 7 years' deprivation of liberty and loss of public rights for a period of 4 years; Adam Wawrzyca to 5 years' deprivation of liberty, loss of public rights for a period of 3 years and a fine of Z5,000; Krzysztof Sienkiewicz to 4 and 1/2 years' deprivation of liberty and loss of public rights for a period of 3 years. The court sentenced the accused Eugeniusz Krystianow, Artur Opolski, Rupert Zolna, Andrzej Opisek, Roman Wieczorek and Roman Zach to 3 years' deprivation of liberty each and to loss of public rights for a period of 2 years. In addition, Artur Opolski was fined Z5,000.

The court dropped proceedings against Czeslaw Cyrnon and Ignacy Stawarz. The sentences are legally valid.

FORMER SOLIDARITY LEADERS IN SLUPSK SENTENCED

LD042222 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Verdicts were pronounced today in Slupsk, at the military court of the Pomeranian Military District, in the trial of six activists of the suspended Solidarity trade union. They did not discontinue their union activity during martial law. Instead, they set up a provisional strike committee of the Slupsk region and printed and distributed posters and leaflets which slandered the supreme organs of the state authorities, sowed unrest and contained fallacious reports. Three of the accused were tried in a summary proceedings, bearing in mind the extreme gravity of their activities. (Zygmunt Golinski), member of the board of the former leadership of the Solidarity union in the Slupsk region, was sentenced to 4 and 1/2 years' deprivation of liberty, 4 years deprivation of public rights and a Z4,000 fine. (Zbigniew Zdzislaw Piwowar) was sentenced to 4 years deprivation of liberty, 3 years deprivation of public rights and a Z4,000 fine. (Jerzy Kowalczyk) was sentenced to 3 and 1/2 years' deprivation of liberty, 2 years deprivation of public rights and a fine of Z2,000.

No summary proceedings were applied to (Robert Leonard Etel) who was sentenced by the court to 2 years' deprivation of liberty; (Cezary Surowiec) and who was sentenced to 1 and 1/2 years' deprivation of liberty; and (Wojciech Buler), who was given a year's deprivation of liberty. Each of them will also pay a fine of Z3,000. The verdicts in these cases are not yet binding and those sentenced are entitled to appeal to the Supreme Court. However, the court held that the men must remain under temporary arrest.

MINISTRY ADMITS 420 DETAINEES HELD SEPARATELY

NC041805 Paris AFP in English 1758 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Feb (AFP) -- A total of 420 people interned under Poland's state of siege are held under the responsibility of authorities other then the Justice Ministry, a ministry spokesman disclosed today.

The disclosure came when he was asked by a reporter to explain a discrepancy between figures given for the number of the interned by the Justice Ministry and General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader.

The Justice Ministry was quoted today in the government organ RZECZPOSPOLITA to the effect that the total number of people that remain interned was 4,129, when General Jaruzelski before Parliament last Janaury 25 used a higher figure, 4,549.

The spokesman explained that the Justice Ministry statistic only referred to those internees placed under its own responsibility, meaning that other internees came under that of some other authority. The spokesman did not specify though which one that would be, or why the 420 persons concerned were rating special treatment.

A hint that there were places of detention somehow different from others was dropped last Jan 7 by Deputy Interior Minister Boguslaw Stachura when he announced that church representatives would soon be authorized to visit internment camps. He specified they would be allowed to visit "almost all" of these camps, without explaining the restriction.

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN 'CONSPIRACY' CRITICIZED

LD041648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1519 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The idea of involving school pupils and students in antistate activity is neither new nor in agreement with the hopes of parents who are concerned with the future of our sons and daughters. The introduction of martial law has returned to the schools and higher education establishments their normal educational and training functions. After all, we are not sending children to school, often at great cost, so that they may play grand politics, but so that they acquire knowledge.

Recent days have brought signals that the instigators of last year's school and university strikes have not given up. In some cities attempts are being made to involve children and youths in a new and much more dangerous game: the conspiracy. This is no longer a joke. Perhaps these young people lack the imagination that would enable them to see the consequences of such a game in conditions of martial law. But we, adults and parents, must explain the while range of nonsense in which they are being involved.

Today the instructions of illegal antistate organizations and subversive radio stations speak about sabotage, subversion and killing.

One thing has not changed: the instigators of this dirty and dangerous work want it to be performed by pupils, students and scouts -- by our children. We must oppose such intentions with all our might. How? It is difficult to give any advice; what is important is that such action must be effective. This must be done at home and we must now wait for the forces of law and order and the judiciary to do it for us. One must not hope that the authorities are going to be lenient. It is possible and necessary to count on one's reason.

KOSTRZEWA SPEECH ON MAGISTRATES' TASKS CITED

PM050949 Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Feb 82 p 3

[Unattributed report: "We Must Decide Which Magistrates to Eliminate"]

[Text] When it established martial law in Poland on 13 December the military junta announced the formation of special courts which would impose severe penalties for any violation of the martial law provisions. On the eve of the establishment of these "courts" a meeting of the voivodship courts' presiding judges was held in Warsaw on 18 December. Colonel Kostrzewa came to give the judges the instructions of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], which is chaired by General Jaruzelski. We publish below his speech, which has been sent to us by the Coordinating Committee for the Solidarity trade union in France:

It is a great honor for me to take part in a meeting with the leadership group of our socialist homeland's magistrates. I am not saying that out of politeness but because I am deeply convinced that I am facing men hardened in battle, men who have wide experience and who understand what is at stake.

I am speaking as the agent of the country's Defense Committee and plenipotentiary representative of the WRON. Allow me, comrades, to describe the present situation in a few words. What happened on the night of 12-13 December was a well-planned and well-designed military attack which, I think, effectively thwarted the implementation of the extremists' plans. It was high time this was done. We prevented a bloodbath. But does that mean that we have won? To use military language -- we have won the first round. We must now defend the positions conquered. The supreme weapon in every government's hands is the law. The use we make of it depends solely on us all. The first front line passes through the courts. In 1 or 2 days' time we will have to judge men brought before special courts. There is one question: Who will man the front lines? What are our judges like?

To act effectively the presiding judge, who is a leader, must have well-integrated, sound men on whom he can always rely. You are well-acquainted with your environment. You know the men in it and can decide who is with us and in whom we can have confidence. This is no longer the time for talking and teaching. We must decide which magistrates to eliminate. I hope that the comrade presiding judges will take a principled and responsible attitude in this sphere.

During this checking some criteria will be very helpful to us. The deciding factors at present are not only a judge's qualifications and abilities but especially his political attitude. If I can give you some advice, I would divide the judges into several groups:

-- The first group is that of the active Solidarity members, the extremists who have risen up against the people's government;

-- The second group comprises the members of the Autonomous Trade Unions, who, judging from what I have been told, were scarcely less active than the Solidarity members and who hampered the ministry's leadership;

-- And finally, the third group is that of indolent judges who are incapable of meeting the needs of the moment.

They are all unsuited to the present stage of the struggle for socialism. However, the special courts, based on martial law, will start sessions tomorrow.

I presume that most of the comrades present have brought with them practical proposals regarding staff policy; if they have no such proposals, they will have to be sent to the minister as soon as possible. There is one problem: Should the judges be required to make declarations or not? (Note: Civil servants, journalists and industrial staff are being made to sign "declarations of loyalty") In my opinion these declarations do not solve anything. But still think about it, especially since, in keeping with the premier's provisions, such declarations will be required from the magistracy's administrative employees. The judges must now act firmly, too. Verdicts must be pronounced quickly and must conform to the law and the requirements of martial law, in other words, they must be stiff. If, in the near future, we want to have calm discussions about the law which will govern the courts and penal codification, we must now intervene actively wherever there is a clash with the law. Work in the courts must be carried out very quickly and with a spirit of responsibility, even if the conditions are extremely difficult through lack of communications and lack of fuel and manpower.

WORKERS' DIARIES REPORT DECEMBER EVENTS

Storming of Wujek Mine

PM050901 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 31 Jan 82 p 12

[Purported extracts from workers' diary on events during Wujek mine strike 13-17 December 1981: "Tear Gas Used on Women Who Hung Rosaries on Tanks"]

[Text] 13 December 1981:

Today martial law is imposed. No real work is done in the mines, only maintenance work.

At the Wujek mine the chairman of the Solidarity branch is arrested. Workers who got wind of the planned arrest gather at the Solidarity office to prevent it. There are fights between workers and police.

The telephones are still working -- later in the evening they will be cut off -- and now they are being used to tell the miners that the chairman has been arrested. In response the miners call a sit-in strike to begin the same evening. At the time, there are several hundred workers in the Wujek mine.

14 December 1981:

Both the first and second shifts join the strike. Time and again the mine director calls on the workers to resume work, but without success.

It is now known that protest actions have also started in other mines: Lenin, Weiczorek, Halemba, Staszik -- later it is discovered that a total of 20 mines are on strike. Around 1200 hours we hear that other companies have also joined the strike.

In the evening come the first rumors of police actions against the Lenin and Weiczorek mines. Everyone is talking about the enormous brutality of the police. Therefore, the Wujek workers start preparations to receive "guests." People are working flat out in the mine's smithy making spits, transforming spades and picks into weapons reinforced with chains, and making batons out of thick cables -- all to be used in self-defense.

Workers dismissed from other companies come over to Wujek. There are now around 3,000 workers in the mine. But there are no problems with order or discipline. The washroom is the strike headquarters.

From the very start the strike is supported by the townspeople. People come with food parcels, cigarettes and news of what is happening in the country. The night passes quietly.

15 December 1981:

Around 1300 hours there is a warning that the mine is being attacked. Everyone comes out from the washroom and other rooms with weapons in hand. They are singing the Polish national anthem. But it is a false alarm.

In the evening, a priest holds a mass in the washroom. He receives the workers' oaths to fight for the common cause, hears confessions and gives his blessing. Later he will be arrested for this.

In the afternoon the first tanks and armored vehicles have arrived and taken up their positions in the Kosciuszki Park and are now surrounding the mine. Thirty tanks have been counted.

During the night there are also rumors of bloody riots at the Stazik mine. It is said to have been mined with explosives. It is a night of fear.

16 December 1981:

Early in the morning, 0530 hours, the deployed tanks begin to move toward the mine. It becomes apparent that the whole area is isolated from both road and railroad traffic.

The authorities give an ultimatum to the workers in the mine. The town's inhabitants begin to collect around the entrances to the mine, including many women and children. The women begin to sing the Polish religious hymn, "God Protect Poland," and the song is taken up by the miners who have barricaded themselves in on the other side of the fence.

Many people are crying; the men too. Some young people clamber over the fence and join the mine workers. They are welcomed warmly.

At 1055 hours the tanks begin to approach the mine. The women try to block the street; some lie down in front of the tanks which are forced to stop temporarily. Then they continue on their way. Slowly they surround the mine. The women are not afraid. They hang their rosaries on the tanks' gunbarrels.

After the tanks, there are police vehicles with specially trained forces who are well known for their almost inhuman brutality -- the ZOMO [motorized reserve of the Citizens' Militia]. Around 2,000-2,500 ZOMO personnel have been sent to the Wujek mine.

Now the mine workers start to sing the national anthem. The ZOMO reply with water cannons and try to disperse the crowds in front of the mine with them.

People withdraw to the nearest apartment blocks. They stand there pressed up against each other and soon they begin to chant "Gestapo, Gestapo, Gestapo." Now the ZOMO fire tear gas grenades at them, and the crowd disperses for a while; everyone runs away.

The ZOMO forces now turn to the mine and fire in tear gas grenades, at the same time as the tanks force the gates and destroy the canteen.

The mine is stormed by masses of policy. They are equipped with batons and tear gas grenades; they have helmets and shields. The tanks fire sporadically at the mine. Rifle shots are also heard. Everything is cocooned in the thick mists of the all-pervading tear gas. The first ambulances coming to collect the wounded are seen.

The people outside the mine have now recovered from the first shock and attack the ZOMO police with stones. The women are the most determined and brave and do not allow themselves to be frightened by water cannons or tear gas. With their bare hands they pick up the tear gas grenades from the street and throw them back at the police.

The ZOMO have to fight on two fronts. The second front -- women, children, schoolchildren, a few men -- are like stubborn midges which it is impossible to wave away. They block one of the streets leading to the mine. They do so by placing a trailer across the street and toppling it onto its side. This causes a new attack by the police. The crowd is again dispersed, but it soon regroups.

At 1255 hours the attack on the Wujek mine has been going on for almost 2 hours without the ZOMO being able to crush the workers' action. Many people are hurt. The ZOMO throw wounded workers out of the ambulances and put in wounded policemen instead. Drivers who protest about this are beaten.

Like lightning the news is spread that the mine workers have taken hostages.

At 1330 hours a green flare is seen in the sky. It means a break in the police action. The ZOMO withdraw from the mine. Tear gas grenades are lying everywhere, and the gas lies in thick clouds over the mine. Ambulances shuttle back and forth. The police show no consideration for the wounded workers and brutally mistreat them.

The ZOMO search feverishly for the strike leaders. Some of them are wounded and have been taken to a military hospital. Six have been killed and they are carried off to the mine's guardroom. Another one will die on his say to the hospital and yet another immediately after Christmas. There must also be deaths among the ZOMO.

The whole time there are negotiations with the strike leaders -- those that are left. The strike leaders threaten to kill the hostages if the ZOMO attack the mine itself. If the armed personnel are withdrawn completely, they promise to leave the mine and go home. The ZOMO leaders agree to the workers' terms and also guarantee the "personal safety" of all the strikers for 24 hours. But these promises are not kept. The arrests begin the same night.

At 1830 hours the workers leave the mine. The hostages are freed, completely unharmed, and during the night the mine is occupied by military forces.

17 December 1981:

At 0830 hours excavators have already begun to clear the debris. The whole fence around the mine has been torn down. A large cross stands at the gates; seven miner's lamps are hanging from its arms. At the foot of the cross there are flowers and someone has lit the first candles.

Despite the fact that the tear gas is still hanging in the air many people have gathered at the cross. The men stand there bareheaded; women pray with their rosaries in their hands. The same sentence is repeated by everyone: "We will never be able to forgive this ever."

Those who died were young boys, most of them between 24 and 26. The oldest one was only a little over 30.

The miners travel down into the mine. They are working, but only symbolically. There is mourning in the Wujek mine; everyone is depressed. Outside the washroom, in the dirty snow, there is a crumpled red and white flag with a text in large letters: Solidarity.

Katowice Worker Cited

PM041701 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 31 Jan 82 p 12

[Unattributed article claiming to report contents of Katowice worker's dairy: "There Were Traitors Within Solidarity" -- quotation marks as published]

[Text] "There were 6,000-7,000 of us inside the steelworks. We had barricaded ourselves in against a military attack; we welded up doors, filled bottles with gasoline. We built a temporary altar. Priests came and said mass -- later they were arrested. We slept on the floor; many people were sick; some people broke down. There were traitors among us."

So writes a 26-year-old worker at the Katowice steelworks, describing the days after the military takeover in Poland in a diary smuggled out of the country.

His cover name is "Satyr." He had worked in the steelworks for 6 years before martial law was introduced. When the Solidarity branch was organized he immediately became active as the editor of the newspaper FREE TRADE UNION MAN.

His diary describes how the steelworks were defended and the tragic outcome of the occupation.

"The military attack was not necessary, although were we prepared for it," Satyr writes bitterly. "They were waiting for us to give in; we could not stand it psychologically. We were too weak."

The workers prepared themselves very carefully for the military attack. All the entrances were blocked with large locomotives; all the main roads inside the workers and the women's sections were blocked off in the same way -- using heavy machines and large trucks.

There were guards at every important point and thoroughfare. The workers made their own telephone system within the works area. They had control of water and energy supplies. All sections were in strike readiness.

A strike committee was quickly formed. Spirits were high. Those who did not want to take part left work and went home; those who stayed were prepared to fight "All the Way to Victory," as the slogan written in capitals on the steelworks' walls went.

They decided on a sit-in strike, but, Satyr writes, in everyone's thoughts questions were repeated which no one wanted to say out loud. "Human questions," he writes. "How long can we stand it? What will happen to our nearest and dearest?"

"It is human to feel fear. There is no one who is not afraid; there are only those who are able to master their fear. How many of us will succeed in doing this now?" one reads in Satyr's diary.

The whole of the afternoon was spent in strengthening security in the various sections of the works. An exit was left free in each section, one which was difficult to detect from the outside. All the others were either welded shut or barricaded.

Two lines of defense were prepared with heavy objects to fight with or to throw at the police. All canals were left open like large traps. The whole of the steelworks was made ready for a blackout. All the underground lines of communication between the sections were carefully guarded by the worker guards.

Gasoline was spilled around the large buildings so that it would be easy to set fire to them. Hot water was kept at high pressure for use in self-defense. Of course, there were large stockpiles of Molotov cocktails, since these have always proved themselves to be an effective weapon against tanks.

"Our bastion seems strong and impregnable," Satyr writes, "but are the people as strong?"

According to Satyr, around 6,000-7,000 people took part in the sit-in strike.

During the first days of the strike, we devoted ourselves chiefly to preparing our defenses, not only in the steelworks itself but also outside it. It was important to arrange a network of contacts with the outside world, with other places of work. Their representatives came to us and asked for help and advice. Some had come a long way."

"We tried to organize an underground strike committee for the whole of Silesia. We printed and distributed leaflets. They were directed at the population in Silesia and in them we explained why we were striking and what we were fighting for."

"In the leaflets we also thanked them for their enormous help with food. We printed leaflets directed at the soldiers in which we called on them not to be a party to fratricide. We appealed to the women to talk to the soldiers in the streets to get them onto the side of the workers."

"In each section people built a small temporary altar. We had a priest who also was a worker at the steelworks. He and other priests in the town said mass for us."

"All the priests from the town who visited the steelworks were arrested immediately, but there were always new ones coming. Everyone took the sacrament. The white bread for the mass was divided into hundreds of tiny, tiny pieces so that it would be enough for everyone."

"Military troops consisting of ZOMO [motorized reserve of the Citizens' Militia] and the police (ZOMO are specially trained policemen intended for difficult missions and known for their brutality) surrounded the steelworks as early as the afternoon of 13 December. On the following day, around 1520, they forced one of the gates. But the only thing they did was to destroy the building where Solidarity had its headquarters."

"It is difficult to describe just how they went about their business like raging vandals. Furniture, toilets, washbasins, Telex machines, telephones -- all were smashed to smithereens with picks and axes."

"The offices were empty even then. All workers and employees had been given orders to leave them, and they did so. The people the ZOMO met during their rampage were pursued to Solidarity's offices. There they had to kneel against a wall in the snow with their hands above their heads."

"May God punish the Polish people's betrayers and murderers," Satyr writes.

"After this show of strength the ZOMO withdrew to the main gates and waited. They either did not dare or did not want to attack the main buildings where the workers had entrenched themselves. They chose other methods of warfare which turned out to be extremely effective. Radio propaganda, false rumors designed to sow fear, and infiltrators to cause dissension."

"It turned out that there had long been traitors among us within Solidarity."

Satyr mentions some of them by name in his diary, and after each name he adds: May God punish him and those like him."

Under this enormous psychological pressure 12 people from the editorial staff of FREE TRADE UNION MAN tried to keep up the spirits of 6,000 tired and frightened people. They slept on the floor on their own jackets.

"Many had colds or fever. We were afraid of an epidemic," Satyr writes. "For all these 6,000 people we had only one nurse, Mira, who herself had pneumonia."

"Growing numbers were asking for sedatives. At regular intervals the radio, which was in the hands of the military, transmitted falsified or real crying from women and children who wanted their husbands and fathers back and who asked them to stop striking."

"Infiltrators and traitors among the workers did everything to influence them. There were violent swings of mood several times a day. It was difficult to stand it. Some people broke down. On the strike's seventh day Section M22 gave up because of betrayal. This was the beginning of the end for the strike."

On 24 January the party organ, TRYBUNA LUDU, reported that the last workers had left the steelworks in Katowice. Satyr was one of the few who managed to escape arrest.

"I am in good health, but tomorrow is uncertain," he writes from his hiding place in the woods. And he goes on:

"I know that it sounds illogical, but I believe in our victory. I am convinced that the workers' rightful struggle must end in victory!"

DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEWS SOLIDARITY MEMBER MILEWICZ

DW200909 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Jan 82 pp 97-100

[Interview by a "Warsaw informant" with Polish Solidarity member Ewa Milewicz in Warsaw -- date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mrs Milewicz, in the beginning the Solidarity trade union was a social movement of moral protest which then grew into a strong political force. Was it sharing power prior to the December 1981 coup?

Ewa Milewicz: I am not sure whether Solidarity was originally a moral protest movement, as you say. During the August 1980 strike, I was on the grounds of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and I was also present when the well-known 21 demands were raised. Initially, the number of demands was much larger. Among other things, free parliamentary elections were demanded, but this demand was later dropped.

DER SPIEGEL: For what reason?

Ewa Milewicz: Its cancellation was carried through by those sensible representatives of the democratic opposition who were considered to be radicals by official propaganda.

DER SPIEGEL: If at that time more far-reaching demands for reforms were renounced out of a realistic insight into the limits of what was possible, why didn't they continue to follow this insight?

Ewa Milewicz: The mood of citizens in communist states is characterized by a feeling of total hopelessness and a belief that no substantial changes are possible. In August 1980, when people were reconsidering their own demands, they came to the conclusion that they had asked too much. Therefore, they decided to drop some of these demands. However, this does not mean that at the time they did not see the necessity of also raising political demands.

DER SPIEGEL: During the following 1 and 1/2 years this aspiration gained the upper hand over a realistic assessment of the situation?

Ewa Milewicz: I think what was decisive was the growing awareness of their own power. People were no longer afraid to say clearly that they wanted political changes. I saw this at many meetings and at the Gdansk Solidarity congress. The desire for far-reaching political changes was really general.

DER SPIEGEL: The state leadership has always asserted -- and it still does today -- that it was not the grassroots which insisted on a course of confrontation with constantly growing political demands but the extremist forces within the Solidarity leadership, its radical leaders and advisers -- you, for instance, Mrs Milewicz.

Ewa Milewicz: In this respect certain persons were the target of official propaganda: Kuron, Michnik, Gieremek, Modzelewski and Onyszkiewicz were and are represented as standard bearers of an extremist movement within Solidarity....

DER SPIEGEL: And you yourself, did you have a moderating effect on trade union activities?

Ewa Milewicz: Our last talk with Jacek Kuron was on 4 December, 9 days prior to the imposition of martial law. During this talk Jacek relatively accurately predicted the situation we have today. He said that the state power would impose a state of emergency; the term "martial law" was not used at the time.

DER SPIEGEL: Was this assessment representative of the democratic movement in Poland? Did you yourself share Kuron's fears?

Ewa Milewicz: No. I told him at the time that I thought this was impossible. Such a step by the state leadership would be bound to lead to a total standstill and to a total paralysis of life in the country. Kuron did not see it this way. He said that the people were weary and that they were longing for quiet. It would not be difficult at all to effectively intimidate them. He said verbatim: "People will strike some and then give up."

DER SPIEGEL: At the time Kuron's concept of national understanding, which he said was the last chance, was amply discussed in Solidarity circles.

Ewa Milewicz: Yes, he had been publicizing his concept for several months. A "committee for national salvation" should be founded composed of representatives of Solidarity, the party and the church. In his view the cooperation of these three forces was the only way out.

DER SPIEGEL: This concept was rejected not only by the state leadership but also by several Solidarity officials. Why were they against it?

Ewa Milewicz: I can only speak for myself. I considered it immoral for Solidarity to enter into the morass for which the party-state leadership was responsible. The trade union's chief value was that it had clean hands. However, to get back to Kuron, he held the view that -- and I quote him verbatim -- "the state authorities must not be forced to their knees." He was a moderate among the trade unionists.

DER SPIEGEL: Then the impression that Kuron is an agitator is false?

Ewa Milewicz: This is a typical example of how propaganda in Poland functions. It has learned to use Kuron's name just as it used the term "Jews." It really says that everything is the fault of "the Jews" and everything is the fault of "the Kurons."

DER SPIEGEL: Were you surprised by the 13 December military coup despite Kuron's prediction?

Ewa Milewicz: On Saturday, 12 December, we had an appointment with N. We were talking about the situation in the country. N. said that everything would be decided next week. He said that Telex reports from various regional Solidarity organizations had mentioned movements of military units, and concluded that the situation was dangerous and that something would happen.

DER SPIEGEL: Did you take this warning seriously?

Ewa Milewicz: Frankly speaking, no. On the contrary, I ridiculed his misgivings. We agreed finally to go to a movie the following week. At 10 in the evening, N. left and 2 hours later my telephone rang. It was N. again. He said that all of the trade union's Telex lines were blocked and asked me to phone Y. in Gdansk and inform him about events in Warsaw. He said that he himself would immediately go to the trade union office.

DER SPIEGEL: Was he arrested there?

Ewa Milewicz: Yes, but I didn't know it then. After I hung up I heard a car stop at our building and immediately afterward footsteps in the stairwell. My first thought was: "They have come to get me."

But then I heard knocking on the door of the apartment below. Fortunately, I thought to myself -- just as if I were in the Soviet Union -- this is not meant for me but for my neighbor. They opened his door with a crowbar. From my window I saw them dragging him into a police car.

I got into my car to go to the trade union building. I thought that perhaps I could be of use there. However, the trade union building was already surrounded by police. So we -- a friend was with me -- went from one apartment to the other in the hope of being able to warn people. However, wherever we went we saw marks left by crowbars on the doors.

DER SPIEGEL: It seems that the action was thoroughly prepared.

Ewa Milewicz: They know how to do that sort of thing well. As we learned later, all apartments were stormed at the same time. There is no doubt that the action was prepared following very comprehensive observations of apartments, including those of trade union activists of individual factories.

DER SPIEGEL: How did the people react to this night operation?

Ewa Milewicz: I talked to many people. They were all surprised and shocked. I believe the shock would not have been greater if men from Mars had landed in Warsaw. Some people said: "Let's wait until Monday; tomorrow Solidarity will show them what's what!"

Generally we didn't know what had really happened. None of us knew that the attack had been launched throughout the country.

DER SPIEGEL: Even though everybody had been talking about a "state of emergency" for some time?

Ewa Milewicz: Yes, strictly speaking, since March. Following the "Bydgoszcz crisis" we were aware of the danger that a state of emergency could be imposed. Yet, what happened that night was a terrible shock.

DER SPIEGEL: Did the police also come to your apartment?

Ewa Milewicz: Four times. They asked me to sign a statement of loyalty. It was prepared from two sentences: that I pledged to renounce any activities aimed "against the state's interests" and something else that I can't remember. Naturally I refused to sign the paper.

DER SPIEGEL: What is the aim of these loyalty statements?

Ewa Milewicz: Above all, they are probably supposed to humiliate people. In addition, such statements are used for propaganda purposes in the press, on television and among factory staffs. Now signing actions are in full swing in many enterprises.

DER SPIEGEL: Did the police behave properly?

Ewa Milewicz; Yes, they were a bit impertinent, but proper. By the way, the way they treated me is irrelevant because as a rule they treat known Solidarity people more carefully.

This is still the case. A large number of intellectuals are interned in a military sanatorium and are treated relatively well there. This is one of the methods the authorities are using to try to create a gap between the intelligentsia and the workers.

DER SPIEGEL: But this gap exists anyway.

Ewa Milewicz: Polish postwar history contains protests by various social groups. In March 1968 the intelligentsia was the only one to protest; in December 1970 it was the workers class. Solidarity, in contrast, was a social movement where the activities of intellectuals and workers merged, not only in the form of accords but also and above all in everyday practice.

DER SPIEGEL: And what has become of it today?

Ewa Milewicz: Here is just one example from the recent past. After 13 December a worker and a doctor of physics were arrested in the Warsaw nuclear research center because of strike activities. Not even at the hour of danger did either of the two give up his solidarity with the other. Solidarity is a very democratic movement indeed.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you think Solidarity will be like at the end of 1982?

Ewa Milewicz: That is an optimistic question. You could also ask whether it will exist at all. But I am a realist and believe that it will exist because it has somehow grown together with this country.

If Jaruzelski wanted to get rid of Solidarity, if he dissolved it and declared it illegal, there still would always be the danger that it will continue to exist wherever it has existed -- and it has existed almost everywhere. The trade union would continue its work underground. This would be extremely risky for the state authorities.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you have a concrete idea of this future Solidarity?

Ewa Milewicz: It is very difficult to make predictions. Much will depend on Walesa's attitude. I assume that the state authorities are exerting massive pressure on him. Since 13 December Walesa's name has disappered from the newspapers. They know that he is the man whose word can reach people in this country and bring about changes.

DER SPIEGEL: What will become of the thousands of internees?

Ewa Milewicz: This is the most important question today. Naturally the existence of Solidarity, the existence of the whole idea contained in this trade union's name, does not square with internment camps and trials against political prisoners. I mean, if these people continue to be interned and if at the same time there were to be a Solidarity, this would mean that it is a different union, a state trade union, and that the members had sacrificed their leaders.

DER SPIEGEL: You fear that a future Solidarity would no longer be a genuine trade union?

Ewa Milewicz: It is too early to make a clear prediction. But don't forget one thing: The code word for the system we live in is fear.

DER SPIEGEL: After August 1980 there was not much evidence of this in Poland.

Ewa Milewicz: I mean the time before that. At the time I worked at a state institution where I always feared that I would be fired, that my salary would be reduced or that I would be thrown out of my apartment. Then, for about 1 and 1/2 years, there was no longer any fear in Poland. You felt safe, just like people living in their own country should feel.

DER SPIEGEL: And now?

Ewa Milewicz: Now this fear is there again. Faced with threats that they will lose their jobs people are forced to quit Solidarity, sign statements of loyalty and fulfill production norms. The people are being intimidated by the police, the military and tanks.

DER SPIEGEL: And if this use of force proves effective?

Ewa Milewica: Then Poland will be turned into a country governed with an "iron hand," a country of prisons, political trials, limited civil rights -- then it would be a country of total fear.

DER SPIEGEL: But how do you visualize this country after martial law is lifted?

Ewa Milewicz: Then the question will immediately arise whether people will remember their previous liberties and will become optimistic again. This possibility does exist. However, there is also another possibility -- that Solidarity will be reactivated, with reduced rights and limited opportunities. This would mean that the clocks of the reform process would have been set back by many months.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI CITED ON KPN 'PUTSCH' PLANS

LD041206 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Feb 82

["How a Coup D'Etat Was Being Prepared" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Feb (PAP) -- ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI prints a long article about the preparations of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] counterrevolutionary organization for an armed putsch. The article presents details of the development, during 1982 [as received], of the territorial structure of the organization, which was formed with the preparations for an armed coup in mind. The following is the concluding part of the article:

A characteristic element of the KPN's preparations for civil war was the drafting of four alternative methods for overthrowing the Polish people's state by force (variants A, B, C, D). First, in each of these variants it was written that "people's power cannot under any circumstances be approved by the confederation," and its members wish and intend to play a leading role overthrowing it. For example, variant "C" said plainly: "The effect will be of civil war ... the authorities will be defeated. The KPN will lead this struggle."

Last November the confederation's preparations for civil war entered a decisive stage. On 13 November the central operational headquarters of the confederation issued special instructions that said, in part: "Increasing activities must begin, reaching a peak on 29 November. Various actions must be applied, depending on forces and means available. In particular, it is necessary to begin with small street demonstrations and then go on to broader ones. Actions should be of a decisive nature, without concealing the fact that an escalation is to begin."

Thus the KPN was planning to strike a blow earlier. However, by agreement with the Solidarity extremists, the date for the beginning of the counterrevolutionary putsch was moved to 17 December. The decision to introduce martial law on 13 December effectively put an end to the criminal intention of the KPN adventurists to provide a fratricidal carnage in the country.

WOJNA HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE IN AUSTRIA

AU291245 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1140 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Report on 29 January Vienna press conference by Polish journalist and PZPR member Ryszard Wojna, deputy chairman of the Polish Sejm's Commission for Foreign Affairs -- with recorded portion, in German]

[Summary] The Polish military regime has repeatedly sent political figures to Western countries to outline and defend Warsaw's position there. Today, Ryszard Wojna, a writer and former journalist, PZPR member, parliamentary deputy and deputy chairman of the Sejm's Commission for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Vienna. Today he gave a press conference at the Polish Institute in Vienna.

In this interview he said that there were doves and hawks in every society, including Poland's society. His subsequent words made clear that he regards himself as a dove. "Thus he declared, for example, that there was no legal basis for trials of Solidarity leaders, and that the government also disassociated itself from the practice employed directly after the establishment of martial law when declarations of loyalty were demanded from Solidarity leaders, frequently under compulsion." Regarding the now valid martial law, Ryszard Wojna said:

[Begin recording] "We need understanding and a certain restraint, the more so as we ourselves also regard the state of war as our own political defeat -- a defeat in the sense that the party and other parties in our establishment were unable to control the development of the situation in Poland with political means and instruments. In that sense, that is a political defeat. But now we must again find such a political solution with political means." [end recording]

"The political solution, he went on to say, must recognize the different starting factors: political pluralism in Poland, and the influence exerted by the Polish Church on the political development. The minister in charge is holding talks with many prominent Solidarity figures who, however, do not want their names to be published, because they believe that they are not authorized to represent the union owing to the fact that Solidarity has been suspended. Talks are also being held with Lech Walesa who is living in a villa in a Warsaw suburb. The strength of Solidarity, Wojna said, lies in the will of the Polish people to introduce fundamental changes in politics and economy, and Lech Walesa is a symbol for that. Any solution of the crisis must be in line with that will, because it exists also in the party; hence there is pressure on the political establishment to continue the reform program."

Wojna did not make any concrete statements as to when the martial law will be abolished, or when the interned will be released. But he said that a PZPR Central Committee meeting would be held in 10 or 12 days.

GLEMP DELEGATION PAY VISIT TO POPE 4 FEB

Departure Details

LD041312 Warsaw PAP in English 1135 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Feb (PAP) -- As already reported, a delegation of Poland's Episcopate, composed of Archbishop Jozef Glemp, Poland's primate, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Krakow metropolitan, and Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, Wroclaw metropolitan, have left for the Holy See today.

At the Warsaw airport, the delegation was seen off by members of the Episcopate, the secretariat of Poland's primate and of the secretariat of the Episcopate. Present was also head of the office for religious affairs, Minister Jerzy Kuberski.

In a short statement for the press, Archbishop Jozef Glemp said that the trip was taking place following the necessity of having contacts between the church and the Holy See, especially so in difficult situations. Like the pope, the church in Poland, too, the primate said, does desire peace, unity and social and moral order.

Asked by a newsman of a foreign TV network whether he saw possibilities for the Church's agreement with Poland's authorities, Poland's primate replied: "I am always full of hope."

Glemp Meeting With Pope

LD041846 Warsaw PAP in English 1714 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Vatican, 4 Feb (PAP) -- Pope John Paul II here today received Primate of Poland Archbishop Jozef Glemp together with Krakow Metropolitan Cardinal Franciszek Macharski and Wroclaw Metropolitan Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, who arrived in Rome earlier in the day, to discuss the situation in Poland. The Polish church officials are going to stay in Rome for about a week.

OZDOWSKI ATTENDS MEETING ON CATHOLICS' ROLE

LD041848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting of Sejm deputies representing the Christian Social Association, Pax, and PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union] took place in Warsaw today. The meeting was chaired by Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski. The meeting discussed the idea of national accord and social renewal.

Those present at the meeting expressed their view that lay catholics are bound, in the present situation in the country, by the principle formulated by Primate Archbishop Glemp who said that we must use our own resources to rise from the decline, but in so doing we must be united. Lay Catholics should produce a positive response to the call for active participation in the civic committees of national salvation. In this connection it was decided this month to invite Catholics taking part in the civic committees of national salvation to attend a consultative meeting in Warsaw.

PAX ELECTS NEW LEADERS, AFFIRMS JARUZELSKI LINE

LD231730 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] Following permission given by the mayor of Warsaw a meeting of the Pax association was held today to discuss creating conditions for a resumption of the association's activity. Those assembled adopted as the basis of their activities a statement of 8 January which contained a critical assessment of some of the concepts which had appeared in Pax's activity in the period prior to 13 December last year and which stated the willingness of Catholic activists belonging to the association to take vigorous actions aimed at achieving a stabilization of the political situation in the country and at constructing conditions for social peace and accord among all patriotic forces adhering to the socialist political system of our state.

Changes were made in the associaton's authorities. Deputy Zenon Komender has become board chairman of the association. The Presidium now comprises the board deputy chairmen, Wincenty Lewandowski, Deputy Janusz Stefanowicz and Maciej Wrzeszcz, and the members, Zbigniew Czajkowski, Jerzy Golinski, Marek Kabat, Deputy Jan Waleczek, Alfred Wawrzyniak and Jozef Wojcik.

Those present instructed the new authorities of the Pax association to undertake intensive activities to make it possible to resume normal organizational, editorial and economic activity on the basis of the preceding statement.

The 8 January statement of the activists and members of the Pax Association leadership stresses the need to speak out in the situation which has arisen over the introduction of martial law in Poland and the suspension of the association's activity. The document goes on to say that the dramatic past period provided opportunities to use some of Pax's organizational and institutional capabilities for giving uncritical support to people, concepts and activities aimed at political objectives which do not correspond to our intentions and political assumptions, such as undermining the constitutional system of the Polish People's Republic and the PZPR's leading political role, and also the board chairman's concept of setting up a so-called grand coalition.

The ideology which has been worked out in the course of the 36 years of existence of our movement shows that Pax, despite political errors, is a movement of lay Catholics who are involved in the construction and development of the socialist political system in Poland, in strengthening the socialist state and in developing a pluralistic socialist democracy, in propagating the principles of Polish patriotic [word indistinct] and the conviction that the Polish-Soviet alliance is fundamental to the Polish raison d'etat.

The statement says in conclusion that we want to develop our activity on the political level described in the speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and in the proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation of 13 December last year. We want to continue to serve our homeland with our work and to join in vigorous actions aimed at stabilizing the political situation in the country and at creating conditions for social peace and accord among all patriotic forces adhering to the socialist political system of our state. We are convinced that the Pax Association, with its fundamental organizational and personnel core, will continue to be able to serve those ends and tasks.

CARDINAL MACHARSKI EVALUATES NATION'S SITUATION

20 Jan Homily

LD042328 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1915 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpt] A few days ago we received some information from Poland that sheds light on the situation in the country. We wish to acquaint our listeners with this material and through them, as far as possible, all our fellow countrymen in our fatherland who are deprived of real and objective news about what is taking place in the various towns in Poland, to say nothing of the activities of the church and the statements of people of the church on the subject of the painful problems which continually arise in connection with the existing state of martial law.

Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, metropolitan archbishop of Krakow, has spoken about these problems many times. Yesterday we broadcast the content of his homily of 24 January. Now we will broadcast, with only minor excerptions, the content of the homily made on 20 January to mark a meeting at which priests, consecrated 6 years ago, parishioners and sisters from Bialy Pradnik in Krakow broke the wafer together. After a brief greeting to those present and having emphasized the importance of these wafer meetings during the Christmas period, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski said:

We have not stopped these wafer meetings despite the bad times which have come to reign supreme. This is to signify that we are not allowed, in this time, to stop anything that is just and right for the life of man, Pole, Christian. Nor can we postpone anything until later. The ordinary current of family life, the life of Polish culture and science, education in schools and at higher educational establishments must flow on. The entire complex of activities connected with ministering to the needs of the soul and serving the aforementioned areas of human life must flow on openly and vigorously. This is because it enlivens them, imparts direction to them and gives them strength so that they will not stop in their tracks, so that they will not become stymied, so that they can flow on without interruption in the service of man.

Through this ordinary meeting of ours we also wish to show yet again that the Lord can write in straight lines along lines that are crooked. These rules of our social life are crooked indeed in all areas. They are crooked, and we feel that they are unjust and undeserved. We feel them painfully not just because they affect each and everyone of us, but because they affect man in general, with some men from our midst being particularly affected. I have in mind those who are interned, those who are arrested for what became a crime with the change of an hour, all of a sudden, for what recently constituted normal public activity. I am thinking of those who fear for their jobs and their wages. They are afraid that they will be pressured and intimidated from all sides so that they will renounce their convictions -- of which, until recently, they were quite certain -- under some kind of threat or coercion.

Without doubt, life's lines are crooked when attempts are made to remove, here and there, the cross from Polish schools. These lines of social life are crooked, although in many cases we get the impression that they are particularly unjust -- unjust, incorrect and irritating, through some released desire for revenge or getting one's own back even for the sake of wounded ambitions, for the sake of catching up with lost time, the several months of silence, thanks to the resolute attitude of the public. We get the impression that local crookedness, local injustices and irregularities did come forth, unfortunately, under the shield of power, manifestations of which we encounter everywhere.

After all, from other sources -- not so long ago, yesterday and the day before yesterday -- I heard assurances from those who make up the supreme bodies in Poland that very many of these ailments, crookednesses, irregularities and injustices were no intention of theirs. Therefore, I ask: Where do they come from? Where do they originate from?

I very much regret that fact that while it is possible to exact from citizens so many new regulations, it is not possible to exact from those citizens who exercise power the following thing: that they should subordinate their own, personal desire for revenge, for forcing their own views through, to the supreme reason. And this supreme reason is at least this: that those who are already worried and burdened beyond measure should not have their burdens, sorrows and difficulties multiplied and piled up.

I am not talking about this to cause you distress, because all of you know about it. I am talking about this in order to show all the more clearly that the Lord can write in straight lines along those which are crooked and unjust [words indistinct]. It is therefore here that our real strength lies. This, therefore, is the reason why we do not despair: from this the desire to live takes its source, never from a striving for revenge, never from power that equals that other power.

Revenge, antipathy, hatred, reckoning that a time will come when it will be possible to get one's own back -- man's strength never originates from these. It comes from something other -- it comes from a complete conviction and trust in the fact that Christ is winnning, that the man who goes with Christ [words indistinct].

24 Jan Homily

LD042354 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] In yesterday evening's program we announced that we shall familiarize listeners with certain sermons and homilies delivered in Poland by our bishops and priests. Now we shall repeat the full text of the sermon which Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, archbishop [as heard] and Krakow metropolitan, delivered in the church of the missionary priests in the Stradom area of Krakow on the eve of the festivity marking the conversion of St Paul, Sunday, 24 January of this year.

We are gathered here because of the feast day marking the conversion of St Paul. This feast day is already being celebrated this Sunday. We are celebrating this feast day as one which marks the triumphant love of Christ. That is correct, a feast day of Christ who triumphs thanks to love. The special feature of this triumph is that there are no victors or vanquished in this triumph. For when Christ's love triumphs then man, good, justice, loyalty and truth are the victors; and it is not man, not man, who is overcome but only what was man's tyrant, hatred, falseness, injustice, hypocrisy, [word indistinct] and seduction. Still fresh in our minds is St Stephen whose triumph, although he died at the hands of those carrying stones, we celebrated at the crib of Jesus Christ on the second day of Christmas. We saw then how the earthly road of love of St Stephen was ending and how Saul's tragic road was beginning. Today we can see how Saul spread terror and was full of the desire to kill, and how Paul's road of love begins. The end of one road, a definite end, and the start of another road, a critical and decisive moment, is conversion. Saul let himself be converted by Christ. He agreed to a new road, a road of love.

Brothers and sisters, I am afraid lest Poles begin to proceed along Saul-like roads. I wish with all my heart that our roads should be like the roads of the converted Paul.

This is the second time in the space of a few days that I am speaking at a gathering in a church. My brothers and sisters, do not clench your fists even in a powerless gesture. Do not resort to hard and offensive words even against those who wrong you. Do not let your faces be contorted by stubbornness or by contempt for people. You must not let yourselves be sidetracked from the path of love. You must not allow yourselves to be pushed off the road of love. Let us not allow ourselves to become antagonized.

Paths of hatred and violence make those who use them and those who wish to find their solution in them alien, alien from others and also alien from themselves. I am saying these words to you as words of warning and of request, of the most ardent kind. Indeed, they are words of imploration. I am also addressing those who are in a position of power. I am taking advantage of every opportunity to do so. Do not hurt people for injustice is the source of anger. Injustice can give birth to hatred and hatred is at the same time both dynamite and the lit fuse.

We hear the representatives of the highest authority say that they do not want to permit acts of retaliation and vengeance for the post-August months. We hear this and we do not have any reason to doubt their genuineness. But if this is the case we do ask: Please make sure that your intentions are realized. If so many regulations of martial law are being imposed on the citizens, why could one not demand from the official clerks and state representatives that they should stop acting against the intentions and orders of their highest superiors. People should not be wronged, for the sense of injustice is turning fear into the governing power.

I am talking about the action of signing declarations. Has it not become clear yet that this is indeed serving a wrong purpose?

I am talking about the incidents which are still taking place under pressure -- despite the promises of the central authorities -- of removing the crosses from schools. I am talking about the so-called cadre verification, or, in other words, the dismissal of employees. We do not know that full employment is becoming more and more difficult, but one has to do everything to avoid acts of retaliation for involvement in the independent trade union and in social activity while these difficult socioeconomic processes are taking place.

A person who feels he has been treated unfairly should defend himself with the binding legal regulations, including the regulations of the labor laws. If he does not know how to go about it he should come to me and I shall help him and in doing so I shall be giving a helping hand not only to him and to his family but also to the whole nation who wants to defend itself against the devastation caused by the desires of retaliation born within them. These are the paths of Saul but all should be following the paths of reason and conciliation, Paul's paths. All should be following the paths of Paul, the paths of love and reason.

I am also talking about the conditions of the so-called internment. How painfully it sounds 2,000 years after the incidents described in the liturgy. All of us, we trust that all of us, desire that the internees should be set free as soon as possible. Before this happens one has to accept the consequences of the fact that they are interned and not sentenced for crimes, not even suspected of committing a crime. Places of isolation, this is their official name, should have a set of rules significantly different from the rigors of prisons, although there is a lot that should be done there, too, in order to improve living conditions. Let there be sufficient practical imagination and means to change the system everywhere and not only in some places. We are asking the authorities to meet this request earnestly and urgently. And we are saying to our internees: We do remember you: We are praying for you. We are looking constantly for the ways of reuniting you with your families as soon as possible and of improving conditions immediately, especially for the sick. However, have patience. I am finishing, brothers and sisters, and in our prayers and in Jesus Christ's sacrifice we look up to heaven and submit an ardent request for God's compassion so that the Holy Spirit, the spirit of love should enter and govern our hearts. May the mother of mercy, the mother and the queen of Poland from Jasna Gora teach us about the paths of God and Polish soil.

PZPR, ZSL ISSUE STATEMENT ON FARM POLICY

AU041240 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jan 82 p 4

[Statement issued by the PZPR Politburo and the ZSL Presidium: "The Evaluation of the Directives Issued by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium on the Key Problems of Farm Policy, Agriculture and Food Production and the Conclusions Resulting From This Evaluation"]

[Text] Agriculture and food production are an integral part of the national economy, and this is why the country's present socioeconomic crisis is having its impact on the implementation of the tasks of agriculture and food production. The general drop in industrial production in the past 2 years, especially in 1981, has resulted in reduced supplies to agriculture of industrial production means, coal and building materials. The shortage of the material means of production and other industrial goods -- especially under the conditions of agriculture's increased purchasing power and of the nonagricultural population's increased incomes -- has become one of the basic reasons for the weakening of economic ties between urban and rural areas.

Despite the existing difficulties, the directives issued by the PZPR Politburo and the ZSL Presidium have enabled the state to make various efforts to ensure the necessary conditions of production and the more favorable legal and organizational solutions in agriculture. The need to solve the socioeconomic problems of the rural areas was also brought up by farmers' self-management organizations.

The joint evaluation of the directives in question and of the social accords in agriculture expresses the particular attention that the PZPR and the ZSL attach to agricultural issues and to feeding the nation.

A. Evaluation of Implementation of Directives

1. The principle of the unity of Polish agriculture as expressed in the directives and of the permanent prospects for the development of individual farms has initiated a single farm policy, which is binding on everyone. In line with that principle:

-- We have adopted the political guarantees for the permanent existence of individual farms in the socioeconomic system of the Polish People's Republic, which was stated in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the Eighth ZSL Contress;

-- We are creating legal guarantees for the permanence of individual farms, as attested to by the bills submitted to the Sejm by the government in order to change the civil code act and to normalize the ownership titles of individual farms.

-- The resolution issued by the Council of Ministers in February 1981 has ensured equal access to farmlands to all farming sectors and has created conditions for mutual exchanges of such lands by these sectors;

-- In April 1981 we introduced throughout our agriculture uniform profitable prices with regard to farm produce procurement;

-- As of 1 July 1981 we liquidated production subsidies for state farms and as of 1 January 1982 we liquidated such subsidies for cooperative farms and farms run by agricultural circles;

-- We have created uniform loan conditions throughout agriculture to liquidate such practices as loan-waiving and differences between sectors concerning interest on loans and the deadlines of their repayments;

-- We have begun to level out the differences in the material and technical supplies for the individual regions and groups of farms, although progress in this regard is still insufficient because of the general inadequacy -- and even regress -- of the supplies of the industrial means of production for agriculture;

-- In May 1981 the Sejm passed the act on the workers' gardening plots, which made it possible to set up the Polish Union of Gardening Plot Holders as an independent and self-governing social organization; at the same time, we have created more favorable conditions for solving the problem of the social demand for workers' gardening plots, which help the urban population to acquire fruit and vegetables;

-- In August 1981 the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on assistance for the employees of the socialized economy who switch over to work in agriculture and handicrafts.

The aforementioned measures have to some extent improved the production conditions in agriculture and have created more favorable socioeconomic conditions for raising the dignity of farmers and the status of their vocation in the eyes of the people. We should bear in mind that these processes have just been begun and that their further development will be determined by our country's general political and socioeconomic situation.

II. The basic principles of land policy adopted by the directives in question were meant to consolidate the conviction that the peasant property rights are inviolate and that conditions should be ensured for rational cultivation of all farmlands and for increasing the production of farms. The following actions were taken to implement those principles:

-- The regulations governing the sales of the lands owned by the state land fund were simplified and activities to ensure that such lands are cultivated on a permanent basis have been stepped up; in 1981 the state land fund sold to farmers about 150,000 hectares of farmland, which was some 20 percent more than in 1980;

-- All decisions on the turnover and cultivation of farmland were made dependent on the position of agricultural cooperative and employee self-government groups;

-- The following bills were submitted to the Sejm: 1) On the protection for arable and forestry lands and on the recultivation of lands as provided for by, among other things, the measures to prevent lands from becoming unused for agricultural purposes and to promote the effective cultivation of farmlands; 2) On integrating lands and defining how the chessboard patterns of fields, which makes farming difficult, should be eliminated; 3) On changing the act relating to normalizing the issue of the ownership of farms; 4) On the social insurance for individual farmers; and 5) On changing the civil code and the code of civil procedure in order to provide legal guarantees with regard to protecting the ownership and inheritance of farms;

-- Poorly cultivated lands, especially those poorly cultivated by the farms run by the agricultural circles' cooperatives, as well as fragmentated lands and those far away from farming centers were transferred to the farms that guarantee better cultivation; in 1981 the area of land cultivated by the farms run by the agricultural circles' cooperatives decreased from about 243,000 to about 140,000 hectares;

-- Class-four farmlands throughout agriculture and class-five farm lands situated over 350 meters above sea level were exempted from land taxation; moreover, the farms so situated were granted higher procurement prices for their produce;

-- The formal qualification requirements for farmers who want to buy lands were lowered, but the requirements concerning their practical qualifications were greatly raised.

The aforementioned measures have helped increase the interest in land purchases and in a better cultivation of land. Although all those measures are regarded as positive, they still leave much room for other possible solutions mentioned in the directives in question. This is also because there is a lack of sufficiently effective instruments with which to bring about the desired changes in agrarian structures so that efficient cultivation of land can be ensured, the nonagricultural use of lands can be prevented and the lands can be restored to their natural fertility. The individual and socialized farms, extreme neglect in agriculturally cultivating over 1 million hectares of arable lands is still a problem to be solved.

III. A decisive increase in the production potential of industry working for agricultural purposes is one of the basic conditions for implementing the directives in question. In this connection:

-- We have initiated the process of switching the industry's production potential to meeting the needs of agriculture and food production; in 1981 only 34 industrial plants engaged in the production of farm machines, implements and spare parts; some 86 other plants are about to engage in such production; despite its efforts, the industry will be unable in 1982 to meet the needs in simple implements such as plows, harrows, cultivators, cutters, grain sowers, dung spreaders, steam heaters and rakes -- operated by hand or with the help of horses -- which means that the stipulations of the directives in question regarding the supplies of these implements will not have been implemented;

-- The practice of state subsidies for the production of spare parts and of farm equipment items in short supply was introduced in 1981 in order to increase the work forces' interest in such production;

-- The special fund to develop the production base of the dairy industry was set up;

-- Priority supplies of materials and energy to the industries working for agricultural purposes were instituted, but so far they have only slightly reduced these industries' difficulties caused by the negative results of the shortages of materials throughout the economy;

-- The sales of tractors, machinery and farm implements to individual farms were increased, although the overall supplies of these means for agriculture had not increased in 1981 and had even decreased in some sectors (tractors, for example);

-- Assistance began for the small industrial plants, production cooperatives and handicrafts that engage in the production of farm equipment and spare parts, but progress in this regard is still unsatisfactory.

However, the aforementioned measures and their results did not decisively help increase farm production in 1981. This production increased in 1981 mainly because of the more favorable weather and the great efforts made by farmers and agricultural workers. There is criticism of the work to draw up a detailed schedule of the measures enabling branches of industry to switch over to production for the benefit of agriculture and food economy and to develop in this direction.

The implementation of the following tasks stipulated by the directives in question was not carried out or is seriously threatened:

-- The supplies of cement for agriculture in 1981 amounted to about 4 million tons, which was 215 million tons less than envisaged by the directives;

-- The supplies of fertilizers in terms of pure compound may be greatly reduced this year;

-- The rate of enriching soil with lime and magnesia has not been sufficiently increased, which lowers the effectiveness of all agricultural measures;

-- The coal supplies to rural areas have not been tangibly improved and the coal supply backlogs are still considerable; the rural organization responsible for trade in heating materials has still not been taken out of the general scheme of coal supplies;

-- The share of investments in agriculture and consumption industries accounted for 26 percent of overall investments in 1981 compared with the 30 percent stipulated by the directives for the present 5-year period, which -- given the general considerable drop in investments -- may indicate that the scale of investments has dropped absolutely in relation to past years;

-- In 1981 only about 80,000 hectares of farmland were improved, which was less than required by the need to amortize the necessary equipment, such an implementation of the 1981 land improvement tasks makes it less and less probable that the tasks stipulated by the directives for the present 5-year period -- 1.4 million hectares of land to be improved -- will be implemented; no adequate progress has been made in committing the potential of the state machine depots to cater to agricultural needs.

Although the most inadequate progress in implementing the directives in question -- in their part concerning the supplies to agriculture of the industrial means of production, investment goods and farm services -- is above all a result of the general disarray of the national economy, it is thought that the efforts to safeguard this sector were not sufficient. The insufficiently militant stance of the central and local echelons of the economic administration, the insufficiently consistent implementation of the action programs and the insufficient popularization of the decision contained in the directives were greatly responsible for that.

IV. With regard to the economic conditions of farm production, decisions were made to ensure the profitability of production and to encourage the development of all farms. The most crucial measures under implementation include:

-- The introduction in April 1981 of new prices for farm produce procurement, which decisively improved the profitability of farm production and radically increased agricultural incomes; moreover, the prices for hog procurement were increased from Z86 to Z110 [for 1 kg] in 1981; these decisions and the increases in procurement prices in November 1980 increased farmers' nominal incomes by about 100 percent; at the same time, all throughout 1981 the prices for the means of production (except for fodder and some services) were on the whole kept on an unchanged level, which radically increased the profitability of production; these decisions resulted in radical improvements in the parity of the rural population's incomes, whose level reached the level of the incomes of the nonagricultural population for the first time;

-- The wages of workers in socialized agriculture were greatly increased;

-- The principle of progressive prices was adopted in order to maintain a constant level of farm produce profitability;

-- The cash obtained from the sales of all farm produce as of 1 November 1981 was augmented until increased prices for farm produce procurement were introduced;

-- Assistance through loans was increased for all agriculture; this includes an increase in loans to individual farmers from Z38.4 billion in 1980 to about Z54 billion in 1981;

-- Better economic conditions (higher prices on farm produce and tax concessions) for mountainous and submountainous regions were created;

-- The economic reform was introduced at state farms as of 1 July 1981; the principle that the agricultural producer cooperatives and the farms run by agricultural circles are fully independent in the management was reinstated, and this created conditions for independent and effective farming;

-- The Government created by decree more favorable conditions for granting loans to young couples and to finance housing construction.

The aforementioned economic measures have decidedly increased the purchasing power of agriculture, which could not be matched, however, by adequate supplies of the industrial means of production and services. Under the conditions of the farmers' great production militancy, this situation has weakened the economic ties between the urban and rural areas and has become one of the crucial causes of speculation.

Efforts to change the taxation system so as to ensure the productivity of farms and to counter unjustified differences in incomes have still not been made.

Despite the decisions contained in the directives in question, no progress has as yet been achieved in organizing the procurement of farm produce. In some cases -- to mention the procurement of potatoes in the fall of 1981 -- serious irregularities asserted themselves and caused the present difficulties in supplying the people with potatoes.

No efforts were made in 1981 to improve the system of contracts on farm produce, thus neglecting the opportunity for creating equal conditions for the supply, production and sales of farm produce.

In line with the sixth party plenum resolution, it was recommended that the socioeconomic plan for this year should stipulate the means with which to increase farm production and to cut losses in the turnover and processing of farm produce in order to increase food supplies.

V. Agricultural self-government groups play a particularly important role in solving the problems of farm policy and food production. During the period when the directives in question were implemented, the present self-government structures were developing and new self-government structures were being created. The following changes took place in the existing agricultural self-government organizations:

-- As a result of new statutory solutions, agricultural circles became an independent, self-governing organization of farmers; aside from their traditional functions these circles assumed new tasks in defending and representing the interests of farmers; the circles' rights in cultivating lands, using the means of production and determining prices and the living and social conditions of farmers and their dependents were extended; the organizational strucutre of the circles was developed by setting up rural parish unions of agricultural circles and by establishing agricultural organizations;

-- Rural housewives' clubs are actively committed to program actions to protect the health and to promote the education and living conditions of rural families; the concept of the rural social fund was worked out and consulted on the initiative of women;

-- The branch unions and associations of farm producers were made independent; the government decree created the material conditions for their activities and ensured that their organizations can have a say in developing production conditions;

-- The process of creating conditions to enable the cooperative self-government groups to have a real say in shaping the direction and structure of economic activities was begun; however, it is thought that the process of making cooperatives independent is too slow, and this hampers the effectiveness and efficiency of their functioning; the work on a new act on cooperatives and their unions is too slow, and this helps to delay the implementation of the directives on this score. We positively appraise the extention of the powers of the self-government groups in cooperative banks which was made possible by the Sejm's adoption of the modifications to the Banking Act.

In addition to agricultural circles and organizations, several Solidarity-type trade union organizations for private farmers emerged in the countryside in 1981. Their basic statutory goals were similar and implied trade union activity. However, in practice, their activity, because of some of their leaders, generally exceeded statutory regulations, and this was manifested in the launching and developing of strike actions combined with the occupation of public buildings. That aggravated social tensions and wrecked the unity of the countryside. Partner-like cooperation with other self-governing farmers organizations was contracted in relatively few, although not isolated, cases wherever farmer-members firmly insisted on it.

In the sphere of agricultural education, all agricultural schools were subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture, and the process of restoring the training basis -- farms attached to schools -- was initiated.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee presidium critically evaluate the effectiveness of agricultural service in its influence on the development of agricultural education and on progress at individual villages and farms. The services have also made no satisfactory progress in the pursuit of guidelines for organizing training and advice activities in farmers' cooperative societies and in food industries.

VI. In the sphere of improving working and living conditions for the villagers, steps have been taken to reduce differences in social conditions in the countryside and in the city, and to improve health services in the countryside. The guidelines in that field have been implemented as follows:

-- Deputies have drafted and submitted to the Sejm a new act on farmers' social insurance:

-- Cash allowances for farmers who have transferred their farms to their successors before the act on farmers' pensions came into force have been raised to the level of the lowest farmers' pensions;

-- The work has begun to define a social minimum for the farmers;

-- The number of places in farmers' sanatoriums has increased and the number of sanatoriums has also been expanded;

-- Steps have been taken to implement the program for expanding the network of rural health service establishments, to reinforce medical cadres and to replenish medical equipment;

-- Progress has been made in compiling a report on the health conditions of the rural population.

In the period of implementing the guidelines, the Union of Rural Youth has been active. It numbers about 170,000 young people. In its program, it harks back to the progressive traditions of the rural youth movement and provides for its participation in settling trade and social problems concerning the young generation of farmers. At the same time, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth is active in the countryside. The identity of goals set by those two organizations provides a basis for constructive cooperation with the preservation of statutory independence and individuality.

While summing up the implementation of the guidelines to date, it should be stated that, notwithstanding the positive settlement of a number of tasks and many steps taken, the progress made thus far is not satisfactory. That resulted mainly from the general socio-economic conditions and from the country's political situation in which the guidelines were implemented. The progress in implementing the guidelines has also been affected by subjective factors, and particularly by the fact that the activity of a number of bodies in the state and economic administration, especially in industry, was not sufficiently energetic. The evaluation made also shows that this situation has been marked by the lack of effective control over the guideline implementation. Workers' self-governing and trade union organizations have not been sufficiently engaged in implementing the guidelines.

B. The Evaluation of Social Accords Implemented in Agriculture

The key problems of agrarian policy, set forth in the guidelines, the results of the wide discussion on that document, and then the settlements reached in the talks between the state authorities and farmers' representatives have also been manifested in social accords, as well as in the proposals and postulates accepted by the government. The daily press for farmers reported in detail on the progress made in that work and on the decisions adopted.

The public proposals and postulates accepted were complied with in specific dispositions addressed by the government to the state administration at all levels in the shape of decisions, instructions and many regulations, as well as of Sejm acts that either have already been put into effect or have been submitted to the speaker's staff.

The so-called Rzeszow-Ustrzyki accords encompass a number of farming issues, above all concerning farm management, land property, farm investments, the supply of production means to farms, the prices of farm produce, procurements and contracts, as well as social issues, commune administration, rural schools and religion.

Also the private farmers' postulates and proposals (numbering in total 76) presented by the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations and supplemented with the November 1981 settlements between the interministerial commission and the protest committee of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, accepted for implementation, have been very important for the development of the country-side and agriculture.

The interministerial mixed teams, set up by the Council of Ministers chairman with the participation of all sides concerned and responsible and chaired by the minister of agriculture and food industry, coordinate the work and see to it that the concluded agreements and social accords are properly implemented. At their sessions the inter-ministerial teams assessed the progress made in implementing the agreements.

The evaluations made show that most settlements have already been complied with or are in the process of implementation.

Problems concerning farm management and land property belong to the postulates settled. That was confirmed in the February 1981 Council of Ministers Decision No 40 on farmland management and in executive dispositions. They have softened the requirements qualifying farmers to acquire land and granted commune chiefs some powers in the sphere of intersector farmland turnover. The March 1981 Council of Ministers decision provided conditions for consolidating the role of self-governing bodies at the village level. Bills on farmland and forest protection and on land integration have been submitted to the Sejm along with a packet of other bills, including that guaranteeing farm property and that eliminating all superfluous restrictions on land turnover. As a result of implementing social accords, whose provisions were mostly identical with the guidelines of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium, significant progress has been made, including in the implementation of the program for improving social conditions in the countryside, and above all in providing farmers with definitely better economic conditions.

Social accords concerning agriculture have also been concluded by individual voivodas with representatives of local private farmers and of socialized farm workers trade unions. The latter deal with local issues which are settled by local authorities.

C. Decisions Arising from the Evaluation of Guideline Implementation

The careful evaluation of the guidelines shows that the principles accepted in agrarian policy, agriculture and food industries have initiated positive tendencies in the social and production invigoration of the countryside. However, the evaluation made shows the need to consistently implement the provisions set forth in the guidelines. That need was confirmed by the leadership of the PZPR and the ZSL in the joint statement adopted at the 1 December 1981 session.

The most important current tasks in that field are:

1. Economic links between the city and the countryside must be restored, and thus conditions must be provided for improving food supplies to the population. It is necessary to improve and to streamline the supplies of industrial goods to agriculture, and to significantly increase production marketability in the whole of agriculture and particularly at private farms. For that purpose, a detailed timetable is to be adopted before the end of February 1982 for adapting industry to work to meet farm needs in industrial means of production. That should be reflected in appropriate programs defining the offers, means and forms of the contract, as well as in interbranch organizational structures. It is also necessary to establish financial, foreign currency and raw material priorities for the engineering and the chemical industries supplying means for agricultural production.

2. Services in charge of raw material supplies to industry and procurement organizations, in close cooperation with farmers' unions and associations, must introduce a general system of voluntary produce contracting. The system of contracting must be appropriately linked with the exclusive sales of basic production means (mineral fertilizers, coal, concentrated fodder), of investment assets (machines, farm equipment and building materials), of land from the state land fund, as well as with credits for production outlays. The contracting system should contribute toward observing contracts. In particular, it should provide for damages payable by the side who failed to cope with contract conditions. Contract prices should be significantly higher that the prices of produce not contracted. The contracting system should provide for subscriptions to production means in short supply.

3. To consistently comply with the principle of the constant profitability of farm production (the principle of progressive price increases), it is necessary to maintain at least equal income parity between the agricultural and nonagricultural population, and to apply the announced system of addition payments for produce sold by farmers and socialized farms in the period preceding changes in the prices of farm produce. To restore economic links between the city and the countryside, as well as the farm market, and to invigorate production at all farms, we must introduce, as of 1 February 1982, new prices for production means, for the procurement of farm produce, and new retail prices for food.

4. The development program for agriculture and food economy must be adopted before 1985. The plan for the current 5-year period must be shaped in such a way as to provide conditions for implementing the program. Since the problem of agriculture and food supplies is highly important, the government has been requested to submit the development program for agriculture and food economy to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic for examination.

5. Some resources and investment means in food economy must be used for improving and streamlining turnover, for modernizing and expanding facilities for storing and processing farm raw materials and foodstuffs. Outlays are particularly needed to improve the procurement, processing and supplies of dairy produce, fats and grain products.

6. All farms must make full productive use of land. This particularly applies to lands which are at present neglected. The price of land from state resources is to be brought up to the level of prices valid in land turnover among farmers. Effective economic and legal instruments are also to be used to bring about socially and economically desirable changes in the agrarian structure, to promote land reclamation and to protect farmlands against using them for nonfarming purposes. The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic is to pass bills guaranteeing the stability of private farms and rational land utilization.

7. Our organizational and technical potential is to be concentrated on material supplies, amelioration works and water supplies to farms and villages.

8. The factions of both parties must combine their forces to ensure that the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic passes the new bill on social insurance for private farmers.

9. Higher standards must be reached in production services, and village and farm services must definitely improve. That particularly applies to cooperative and state farm services, as well as the entire farm service system. The network of small enterprises for processing farm produce is to be expanded. For this purpose, necessary conditions must be provided to form socialized enterprises of that kind, companies of physical persons, as well as artisan shops.

10. Steps are to be taken to draw up, and then to put into effect, a new taxation system. That system must restore economic functions to taxes, and it must take into account good and poor qualities of land and the sizes of farms for taxation purposes, and it must favor full utilization of farmlands and the intensification of gross and marketable production at all farms. It also must help shape farm incomes in accordance with the real contribution of labor.

The conclusions arising from the evaluation of the initial stage in implementing the guidelines show that every effort must be made to provide favorable economic and social conditions for developing production and for progress in farming. At the same time, an increase in marketable food production at all farms, and particularly at the private ones, for the needs of feeding society is to be considered as the fundamental task in agriculture. For this reason the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium represent the view that all echelons of both parties must periodically scrutinize progress made in implementing the guidelines, taking into account the social accords and the requirements of the current sociopolitical and economic situation.

[Signed] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium.

Warsaw, January 1982

TEAMS SET UP TO MONITOR PRICE SITUATION

Teams' Tasks

LD042010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Special teams are coming into being in more factories up and down the country as a result of initiatives by party organizations and in response to the directive of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee on the reform of retail prices. The task of these teams is, among other things, to look for ways to reduce manufacturing costs and thereby prices. It emerges from reports sent in from throughout Poland that party echelons and organizations are also devoting special attention to encouraging measures for the proper exploitation of the social and housing funds of factories. The point is that preferences should be created for workers who are experiencing particularly hard times, families with many children, single mothers and old-age and other pensioners.

Lenin Steelworks Group

LD041144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Recommendations contained in the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat directive in the matter of retail price reform have met a quick response from party echelons. First, enterprises are creating groups that will analyze the shaping of production costs and will move to lower them. The Lenin Steelworks has set up such a group. Its function will be to intervene when the work force informs it about cases of excessive prices.

ZSL Appoints Team

LD041742 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] In connection with the numerous observations and reservations registered by farmers in regard to the increased prices for services rendered by economic units of agricultural circles, the Supreme Committee of the ZSL Secretariat has appointed a team to assess in economic and production terms how justified the level of prices for services is. This relates to the prices which are defined in the price list of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations. The prices of agricultural services should reflect the real costs of these services and contain a financial margin for covering development outlays of economic units of agricultural circles.

SIWAK WRITES ON NECESSITY OF MARTIAL LAW

AU041424 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30-31 Jan 82 p 3

[Albin Siwak article: "With Our Hearts, Minds and Moral Right"]

[Text] Every day more and more people in Poland realize that it was necessary to introduce martial law in our country. It was high time to do so and perhaps the last opportunity to solve Polish problems by our own devices without shedding a sea of blood in defense of the interests of the workers class, national interests and socialist achievements.

Crushed by the post-August shock and struggling against the external and domestic enemy, the party was actually without objective opportunities to "get a second wind," to work out an action strategy, to outline the aims of its tactics and to examine the correctness and effectiveness of these tactics. There is no doubt that the historic resolutions of the fourth party plenum and the breakthrough that was then made have exerted and continue to exert an enormous influence on the party's ability to regain its class character and Marxist-Leninist ideology and to find the socialist solutions to the present crisis. However, the positive processes within the party went hand in hand with increasing anarchy in the country, intensifying terror, disrespect for law and order, the unbridled fury of Solidarity advisors and many officials, and the aggressiveness of the leaders of the opportunist tendencies within the PZPR, who realized with increasing clarity that their defeat at the ninth party congress with regard to the PZPR program and statute went hand in hand with their political discomfiture.

Martial law is the price we have to pay for Solidarity's evolution toward a political party hostile to socialism, but it is also a tremendous chance for us to ponder on how to solve our problems in peace and without strikes and the ferocious anticommunist hue and cry, how to rehabilitate the party, restore its revolutionary character and get rid of careerists, artful dodgers, people devoid of ideology, turncoats, sycophants and opportunists. We should realize in this connection that the system and character of democracy will be determined by the character of the party and its internal organizational life, and that the party's character will be determined by the character of its members and leaders.

We should state quite clearly that there are various sources of the crisis within the party itself and that they result from the weakness of internal party work and of the entire ideological front and from the external attacks against the party by the combined forces hostile to it. This is an issue on which historians will ponder even in the far-off future, but we can already say that all the party members cannot be made equally responsible for this state of affairs. There is a difference between the masses of party members -- the workers and peasants in the party -- and the politicians, ideological front workers and high party and state functionaries. It is among the latter that we have to look primarily for those responsible for the present state of the party, for sowing confusion in the minds of the people and for the attack against democratic centralism, the universal laws of socialist building and against Leninism. Throughout the many years of its existence the party has never by itself embraced alien positions. It has always been forced into such positions by people with specific surnames and Christian names and by specifically defined forces.

Martial law has changed the situation, but has not removed the general danger in question. We must see this danger and be aware of it. It is frightening to see how yesterday's revisionists change their garb on the run, and without any ado vie with each other in demonstrating the highmindedness [pryncypialnosc] of their present actions.

It is no secret that many young people who had been born and educated in People's Poland left the country not to return to their fatherland. This is a painful issue because the young generation is every nation's best asset. That is why we must do all we can to make it possible again for the young people to enjoy good prospects for advancement here -- in their own fatherland, on Polish soil. This calls for nothing less than a revolution in personnel policy regarding the young generations. The young people do not and cannot wait any longer, and the party must not allow a situation in which the natural perpetuators of the socialist changes in Poland -- finding no outlets for their energy and ambitions -- will begin to sink into an ideological and political apathy or will turn against the cause of their fathers. Socialism is a system of young people and cannot be built without them. The times we are going through also favor youthful enthusiasm, and today Poland needs not only experience, but hearts and courage as well, which are the attributes of youth.

It was a bad, a very bad thing that the August upheaval and the August protest, which was mostly a workers' protest, has divided us instead of uniting us. Our society has been set at loggerheads, the workers class has been disrupted, and people have become divided where they work and live and even within families. Those for whom Polish blood is a counter to be changed into hard currency made great premeditated efforts to achieve this.

The Polish press was very noisy for many months on the subject of the so-called Polish model of socialism, and the term "socialism" was qualified by hundreds of epithets -- Catholic, Scandinavian, market, reform and so on. It is very bad when the glaring deviations from the universal laws of socialist building are called "Polish separateness" by the sciences and the publishing media. And this was precisely what some ideologues of renewal in our country were doing. By the way, these ideologues were in action in the seventies as well, and many of them played the principal role at all the bends we were rounding. Party patience deserves every admiration! How many crises do we still need to stop at last believing in these ideologues?

It was 3 days before martial law that GAZETA KRAKOWSKA published a quite exceptional statement on four scenarios of solutions that could be applied in our country. The second scenario answered the question of what would happen if the enemies of socialism in Poland took over power: "...As a result, the system of the most orthodox communism in power would return." Why? Because our allies "would and could not come to terms with such a scenario."

The fourth scenario of a so-called Polish solution -- this scenario was appraised as the best -- proposed that the PZPR should give up its power monopoly. And yet this would mean in consequence that the party would give up its instruments of power, that is, would depart from the supreme principle of socialist building: the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. I think that it would be good not only for those who regard themselves as Marxists, but also for all the people to explain the meaning of internationalism and Leninist principles.

Martial law has not relieved the party of responsibility for the past, the present and the future. It has merely offered the party the last chance to take a look at its own errors and mistakes and at its members and ranks. Martial law has created for the party the opportunity to draw the necessary conclusions from past experiences. We must draw such conclusions and use them in viewing the situation if we want to march toward the future with clean hands, with open faces and with the moral right to lead the workers class and society. We are all responsible for the party, but only some of us are responsible before the party.

In this process many a fish will prove rotten and many a stone will have to be turned. This is why I submit that it is urgently necessary to draw up a delcaration, nay, a manifesto listing our party's aims and its resolution to defend the post-August achievements of the workers class, to ensure opportunities for implementing these achievements and to preserve the socialist character of the democratic changes underway in our country.

The party, its workers' backbone and the workers holding party functions at all levels were and are guarantors that the country will be taken out of its crisis along a socialist path. Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and all the communists in uniform have given us a tremendous support and assistance at every step. Hopes are rising that the party will find enough strength to give up for all to see the cowardly and un-Leninist slogan: "Neither to the left nor to the right, but just straight ahead" and will cry courageously as a common laborer would: "To the left quick march!"

PZPR OFFICIALS ATTEND, ADDRESS LOCAL MEETINGS

Siwak Speech in Inowroclaw

AU041518 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Jan 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, at the meeting of party and economic aktivs in Inowroclaw on 29 January]

[Text] Albin Siwak discussed the current situation in the country resulting from the introduction of martial law, concentrating on the problems and functioning of the party. On 13 December last year an end was put to the strikes which were ruining the country's economy, he said among other things. The limited extraction of coal last year -- it was deliberately boycotted -- brought about the fact that at one time only 5 cement furnaces out of 91 were operating; for the same reason an equally difficult situation was arising throughout industry, while at the same time the specter of unheated homes was looming. All this took place in a country where 1.7 million families have already been waiting over 10 years for an apartment.

A huge number of Solidarity documents is in the authorities' possession, from which the fate that had been prepared for party and state activists clearly emerges. From these documents it also emerges that the West has been counting very much on a change in our country's system.

Many Poles still do not realize the most important matter today -- the decisions of 13 December not only cut short the evil course of events in Poland, but may also have saved world peace.

Talking about party problems, A. Siwak stressed the necessity of carrying out a reliable process of cleaning up the PZPR ranks. He declared his support for the revival of the glorious traditions of our home trade union movement, from which certain branch unions representing particular trades have age-old achievements. Referring to speeches made by participants in the meeting, A. Siwak critically appraised the role of many scientists up to now.

He also spoke about the work of the Central Committee Politburo. Practically every meeting, he said, starts with its own opinion poll by its members about their contacts with people who are away. Listening intently to the voice of the workers' class has become the rule, he stressed.

Siwak Speech in Koszalin

AU041413 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 82 p 2

[Ludwig Loos report: "Meeting of Workers' Aktivs in Koszalin"]

[Text] On Wednesday 27 January in Koszalin, about 250 party activists and members met with Comrade Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member. Comrade Zbigniew Krenz, PZPR voivodship committee secretary, delivered an introduction to the talks, which consisted of discussing the most important current problems in political and party work in the Koszalin Voivodship.

Comrade Albin Siwak presented the most important political, social and economic issues with which our country and party are struggling. He said that the introduction of martial law had averted a tragic conflict. The decision came at the last moment when all other ways of solving our Polish affairs had already failed. Solidarity leaders were already preparing to assume authority in the country and were planning a bloody encounter with the party and with people's authority a few days after 13 December last year.

The leaders of Solidarity were supported and inspired in this activity by hostile political organizations -- the Social Self-Defense Committee KOR and the Confederation for Independent Poland. Great financial resources were allocated for this activity from abroad. Also, since the attempts to seize authority failed, it is no wonder that there has been such a political uproar in the United States and other Western countries, and that people are trying to exert brutal political and economic pressure on Poland.

Because of the anarchy, constant strikes and pressure on the authorities to make various decisions, there has been a deepening of difficulties and of the economic crisis.

Comrade A. Siwak also made many remarks on current party matters. He stressed that the basic duty of party activists and members is to serve the community, particularly the workers' class. Modesty and honesty should be their characteristic features. That is why weeding out of the party dishonest people and careerists, to whom party ideology has always been foreign, continues to be an important matter. For it is the party's ties with the masses and the nation's trust in the party that determine the party's cleanliness.

During the meeting, Comrade A. Siwak replied to many questions.

The meeting was chaired by the first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee, Comrade Eugeniusz Jakubaszek.

Grzyb at Radom Plenum

LD041806 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A plenary session of the Radom Voivodship Party Committee was held today. The plenum discussed the new principles governing the functioning of our economy and the tasks of the party organizations in the economic sphere.

Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo; Minister Wladyslaw Baka, plenipotentiary of the government for economic reform matters; and Krzysztof Trebackzkiewicz, deputy head of the Economic Department of the party Central Committee, took part in the session.

The plenum stressed both in the report of the executive of the voivodship committee and also during the discussion that martial law promotes the maintenance of order in the national economy and at the same time it reveals very clearly all the weaknesses that have been accumulating over the past years. In the present economic situation in Poland party organizations have a special role to play. They need to create an appropriate atmosphere among workforces and need to influence the smooth functioning of enterprises.

Czechowicz, Mokrzyszczak

LD042304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpt] Voivodship party committees are meeting in Lodz and Radom. The meeting in Lodz is discussing the consolidation of party activity and is attended by Radeusz Czechowicz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Lodz Party Committee, and Wlodizimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary.

Barcikowski Poznan Speech

AU041454 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30-31 Jan 82 pp 1,7

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 29 January Poznan meeting with several hundred representatives of the Polish Armed Forces, the militia, the security service and the voluntary militia]

[Text] Speaking to soldiers and members of the militia and security service, K. Barcikowski said that the extensive overpowering of the forces hostile to socialism in our country and the party's takeover of initiative were also among the specific advantages of martial law. In its march toward power -- especially before 13 December -- Solidarity tried to just trample the PZPR underfoot, he said. There was literally no day without brutal attacks on party bodies and organizations and without attempts to force them to assume defensive positions. Today the situation is different: the party is beginning to recollect its strength, to consolidate and to regain society's trust.

It goes without saying, K. Barcikowski continued, that martial law is causing certain expenses and losses, which are being greatly intensified by the present anti-Polish campaign in the West, especially in the United States. However, the individual capitalist countries are unable to reach complete agreement on the U.S.-sponsored policy of economic sanctions against our country. At the same time, manifold assistance given us by the states of the socialist community continues to develop.

Wozniak Tarnobrzeg Remarks

LD042332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting of the activists from party organizations and the economic management system of Tarnobrzeg Voivodship was attended by Marian Wozniak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who drew attention to the special role and function of the party in the present social and political situation in the country. Both in peacetime and in the state of martial law, he said, the tasks of the PZPR are those defined in the decisions of the ninth party congress. These decisions have retained their importance.

KUBIAK CHAIRS PARTY COMMISSION MEETING 4 FEB

LD041916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A further session of the commission for explaining social conflict issues was held today at the party Central Committee, chaired by Hieronom Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee. The commission acquainted itself with the studies under preparation on the subject of the political crisis of 1956 and discussed the economic, sociological, ideological and political factors conditioning this crisis. The commission adopted a schedule for further analyzing materials and on reaching findings on its work. It was decided to submit the first version of this study to broad party consultation. Problem groups set up by this commission met today.

INTERPARTY GROUP ON FORMING STATE TRIBUNAL

LD042002 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] A joint meeting of the Presidium of the parliamentary clubs of the PZPR, the SD and the ZSL was held today to discuss problems connected with the setting up of a tribunal of state and the defining of the scope of its actions. The discussion covered the nature of the tribunal, the question of the tribunal operating under both constitutional and criminal law and the Sejm's procedure in setting up the tribunal. The participants agreed that it is necessary to determine the principles and forms of responsibility under constitutional law borne by persons holding senior state appointments. It was also agreed that it would be expedient to create a constitutional tribunal.

The Presidium decided to forward to the Sejm Presidium a draft bill sponsored by Sejm deputies concerning the tribunal of state and along with it a draft bill concerning changes in the basic law which would accord constitutional standing to both the tribunals. It has also been decided to raise on behalf of the parliamentary clubs the issue of constitutional guarantees for the permanence and development of individual agricultural farms as well as a similar solution with regard to crafts.

The meeting was chaired by the chairman of the PZPR parliamentary club, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and was attended by, among others, the chairman of the ZSL parliamentary club, Boleslaw Struzek, and the chairman of the SD parliamentary club, Jan Fajecki. Present at the meeting were members of the Sejm Presidium headed by the speaker of the Sejm, Stanislaw Guewa.

SD CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM SESSION REPORTED

LD042024 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The SD Central Committee Presidium met in Warsaw today. The chairman of the SD Central Committee, Prof Edward Kowalczyk, reviewed the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country and provided information about the current work of the government. The Presidium recommended intensification of party propaganda work and set well-defined intensification of party propaganda work and set well-defined tasks for the SD's press organs. The Presidium also acquainted itself with the views of a team of experts with regard to the setting up of a tribunal of the state and heard a report on the participation of an SD Central Committee delegation in the eighth national conference of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

PRAVDA VARIATIONS OF JARUZELSKI SEJM SPEECH

Moscow PRAVDA on 27 January publishes on page 4 a version of the speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and of the Council of Ministers, at the 25 January Sejm session in Warsaw. The PRAVDA version has been compared with the Warsaw Domestic Service speech published in the 26 January East Eruope DAILY REPORT, page G 1, and the variations noted in the 4 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page F 6.

JANUARY GRAIN SUPPLY REPORTED SHORT OF NEEDS

LD041944 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] In January, about 100,000 tons of grain were supplied to procurement points. Overall, about 1.5 million tons have been purchased from last year's harvests. For farmers to meet their contracts in full, approximately 800,000 tons of grain are still needed. In January, over 3,000 tons were purchased daily, but daily consumption by the cereal and milling industry amounted to about 19,000 tons. Thus the Military Council of National Salvation appeal to farmers to activate the sale of agricultural produce to the state remains relevant.

1 FEB AGRICULTURAL PROCUREMENT PRICES OUTLINED

LD042030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The Council of Ministers' Economic Committee decisions on the 1 February increase in procurement prices for agricultural products were outlined at a press conference held today at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy. Procurement prices will increase by a total of 21 percent. The Ministry of Agriculture has been authorized to determine specific prices for individual products, such as for grain, for slaughter, milk and so forth. The Ministry of Agriculture has held consultations on the new procurement prices proposals with farmers, Sejm deputies and representatives of all unions and branch associations of agricultural producers.

PLANNING OFFICIAL EXPLAINS PRICE RISE POLICY

PM050905 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Jan 82 pp 1-2

[Roman Przeciszewski undated interview with Leszek Urbanowicz, director of the financial planning section of the Polish Council of Ministers Planning Commission: "Toward Market Balance"]

[Text] [Question] What is the reason for such an unusually big increase in the prices of basic supplies and raw materials?

[Answer] Indeed, supply prices have been increased on an unprecedented scale, but let us hope that it is the last time that a price increase will be carried out in such a way, that is, suddenly and instantly. It is a question of ensuring that prices are flexibly adapted to changing circumstances. Of the previous supply price reforms -- there have been seven in the postwar period -- the penultimate was implemented in two stages -- first in 1974-1976 and then in 1977-1978. Altogether they involved Z350 billion. The initially planned reform of the prices of basic supplies and raw materials as well as of charges for energy and transport of goods, which was to be implemented on 1 January 1981, was to involve the sum of Z830 billion. However, following many consultations, we decided to initiate a reform involving, according to estimates, some Z2.3 trillion.

[Question] Such figures are rather beyond the ken of ordinary mortals. However, everybody is bound to ask immediately what has been the cause of such a considerable discrepancy between the reform planned and the reform which was finally initiated.

[Answer] There have been several causes. First of all, it has been the result of a change in the method used to determine the prices of basic raw materials and supplies. To begin with, it was planned to base them on production costs, but even then they would not correspond to world market prices. The view prevailed that they should be equal to transaction prices prevailing in the so-called number two payments area. Cost increases resulting from the implementation of various wage agreements and expenditure connected with wages at a time when labor productivity continued to fall also played a considerable role.

Furthermore, as a result of a gradually decreasing utilization of production capital, the constant unit costs of the goods produced increased. It was therefore necessary to decide on this difficult solution in order to initiate the reform effectively and ensure that market mechanisms operate correctly and that goods are purchased and sold abroad in a satisfactory manner.

[Question] It has often been said recently that it is necessary to ensure that production costs become more realistic and that in the past supply prices were bogus and unrealistic. What was the reason for this? We all ask ourselves this question.

[Answer] Such a situation was made possible by a system of grants, subsidies, supplements and exemptions from obligatory payments to the state as well as by the credit system then in force. So state subsidies amounting to tens of billions toward the purchase of imported raw materials whose transaction prices were increasing, whereas sale prices remained unchanged -- this applied to oil, for instance -- became commonplace. Banks used to grant credits amounting to tens of billions of zlotys to make good losses which were a result, among other things, of purchase price increases at a time when the sale prices of products remained unchanged. As for subsidies from the state budget for the production of raw materials and supplies in the country itself, they amounted to hundreds of billions.

[Question] So those who say that our economy has been stood on its head are right....

[Answer] Unfortunately, yes. This state of affairs, which prevailed for many years, led to unsound results from the economic computation of the effectiveness of fuel, energy and raw materials utilization in the sphere of production as well as to the abolition of incentives to economize on them. It was also responsible for an incorrect assessment of the effectiveness of the processing industries, exports and imports as well as for an excessive strain placed on the state budget by subventions with respect to imports and the production of raw materials and supplies based on the accumulation obtained from the processing industry. Excessively low sale prices of fuel, energy and basic raw materials led to deficits in enterprises producing them, that is, extractive industries. In turn, in many sectors of the processing industry the level of the sale prices of finished products led to high financial accumulation which exceeded in some cases 100 percent of the enterprises' own costs and, on average, fluctuated around 30 percent.

[Question] The question of our coal has often been mentioned as an example of unconcern and noneconomic thinking which lacked any logical basis....

[Answer] This is a most significant example. The production of hard coal became unprofitable as early as 1976, and the Z106-per-ton deficit amounting to 18.6 percent was covered by the industry from profits derived from exports. In 1980 the deficit increased to Z340 per ton and profits derived from exports were insufficient to cover it. During the past year the costs of coal extraction increased still further and the deficit exceeded 50 percent. However, it should be realized that even these figures are underestimated, because the real prices of steel, timber and spare parts were not taken into account when the material costs of coal extraction were being worked out.

[Question] So what will the reform of supply prices achieve?

[Answer] A stimulating estimate of the consequences of the reform of supply prices has shown that the production of hard coal and electric and thermal energy will at last become profitable within a 20-percent range. A relatively modest profitability -- on average, within a 4-10 percent range -- is to be ensured in metallurgy, the construction materials industry and the chemical industry, as well as in the processing industries including the electrical equipment industry. These developments have been forecast on the basis of the present trends in the shaping of cost factors.

However, in view of decreasing production and as a result of a considerable decrease in labor productivity, which was difficult to determine at that time, and a decreasing utilization of capital assets as well as mere waste, so-called fixed costs could in practice lead to a change in these estimates. The relevant calculations are now being made.

[Question] So who will be affected by increasing production costs?

[Answer] Enterprises can be expected to try to follow the line of least resistance, at least during the first phase of the implementation of the new principles according to which prices are to be determined. The beginning is always the hardest. Being able to set the prices of many of their products freely, producers can pass on higher production costs to their customers, foreign clients and the community. The state budget will also bear some of these consequences, but only to a very limited extent in connection with some official prices of basic food products such as milk and butter.

[Question] If no barriers are set up, we can expect exorbitant prices.

[Answer] I believe that it is impossible to raise prices for economic reasons, because this may come up against barriers which, even though they may not have become apparent, have been built into the principles which are to govern activities in 1982. Let us remember that production must be linked with sales, since otherwise there can be no financial turnover, no profits and, consequently, no solvency as far as enterprises are concerned. If enterprises which supply goods were to charge excessively high prices and take advantage of their monopoly position, they would have to pay huge turnover taxes. In addition, if they were discovered earning excessive profits, they would have to transfer them to the budget. As for enterprises which have to purchase goods, they will have to restrict their purchases, among other things, because the funds earmarked for their development are small. As far as the public is concerned, it may not accept any excessively high prices. Let us also remember that it is protected against excessively high prices first by the state, through price control and high penalties to be imposed on dishonest suppliers, and second by a large-scale consumer protection movement represented by a social body.

[Question] I wonder, however, whether only costs will determine prices.

[Answer] After observing the way in which costs have been shaping in the economic sphere, I have reached the conclusion that some efforts will undoubtedly be made by producers to take advantage of their monopoly position and also to shift the costs of inefficient management -- such as constant costs coupled with a considerable fall in production -- onto prices. But this does not mean that we will approve such action. We are seeking means of protection which are both effective and unlikely to eliminate any necessary products from the market. For instance, work is now being carried out in connection with an economic and financial system which will determine principles governing the financing of enterprises whose production has been either restricted, halted or hindered as a result of a reduction in supplies. Indeed, some different principles of economic play must be applied to such enterprises.

[Question] At the beginning of this interview we discussed the question of illogical price relationships which are still apparent. Will the price reform liquidate them? And will it help to regulate retail prices?

[Answer] The reform will undoubtedly favorably affect the shaping of the relation between prices and costs in further phases of processing and create conditions for real further improvement in the efficiency of utilization of raw materials and supplies. As a result, an obvious improvement in the relationships among retail prices of market goods should take place, among other things. It should be remembered that many irregularities have occurred in this sphere. This is hardly surprising. I believe that ever since 1953 -- when a wage and retail price reform was implemented and the market balanced as a result -- all price alterations have been implemented piecemeal, on the spur of the moment.

In practice, this led to unplanned changes in the relation among various goods and groups of goods for which neither the structure of our economy nor the structure of social needs provided any justification. As a result, retail prices ceased to fulfill the requirements of a consistent and coherent system which would have supported efforts to achieve planned economic development and helped to shape a rational consumption structure. In addition, they have long ceased to fulfill the requirements of balancing supply and demand. We can expect improvement once the announced change in retail prices, which has been a subject for consultations, is implemented.

[Questioner] Thank you for the interview.

NATIONAL DEFENSE LEAGUE MEMBERS' ACTIVITIES NOTED

AU041426 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Jan 82 p 6

[PAP report: "Strengthening Order and Discipline"]

[Text] The activity of the National Defense League in martial law conditions and its joint participation in strengthening order and social discipline were appraised during a meeting of the presidium of the chief administration of the National Defense League.

It was stressed that martial law has helped enliven the social activity of the organization's aktivs.

To point out their citizens' engagements: League members are taking part in the activity of the citizens' committees for national salvation and military local operational groups, and are serving in citizens' defense detachments, in cells of the citizens' guard and in units of the citizens' guard and in units of the Voluntary Militia Reserve [ORMO].

ANTIPROFITEERING COMMISSION ASSESSES TASKS

LD042252 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2120 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The Central Commission for Combating Profiteering has assessed the implementation by enterprises of the proposals and recommendations issued by the state organs of control. Recommendations which have not been implemented concerned, in the main, issues related to personnel and finances. A radical improvement has recently taken place in this respect.

The commission heard information submitted by the representative of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services on the process of implementation of the changes in the prices of goods at shops and catering establishments.

A total of 9,000 checks have been carried out and irregularities have been discovered on only 100 occasions.

The meeting of the Central Commission for Combating Profiteering was chaired by Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski.

COMMITTEE CONSIDERS MINING MINISTER'S REPORT

LD042024 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpt] As the government press office reports, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers -- which held a session today chaired by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski -- considered a report by the minister of mining and power industry on the operational program for fuel and energy in the current year.

In view of the decisive significance the mining and power industry have for the whole economy, the supplies of materials and means determined in the operational plan ought to be fully implemented. As it was emphasized in the course of the committee's session, the higher extraction of hard coal since the beginning of this year and the regular work of the mining crews must not run up against the barriers in supply of materials which at present is felt severely throughout the whole economy. The Economic Committee made it incumbent on the ministers responsible to carry out an appropriate acceleration of mining supplies planned for the first quarter. This calls for a 6-day work week to be introduced in those plants which are working for the needs of mining and which have the opportunity to increase production.

An essential amount of hard currency will also be earmarked for the needs of mining. At the same time, the Ministry of Mining will take all indispensable actions required for a further intensification of extraction, for creating the conditions in which it can grow in subsequent years, to improve the quality of coal, to improve the social and living conditions and work safety of mining crews. At the same time a maximum of thrift in the consumption of energy and raw materials must become a necessary condition of the functioning of the economy in the present year. That is also why the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers decided that there will be additional charges for enterprises' consumption of electricity, natural gas and coke-oven gas in excess of the limit. The Economic Committee approved the principle of consumers reimbursing the services rendered by on-site cafeterias, along with the principles of financing these centers. These principles will be sent to the Council of Ministers for confirmation. They are aimed at limiting to the greatest possible degree the effects of the rise in the retail prices of basic food items, of fuel and energy for work forces availing themselves of cafeterias.

The reimbursement for persons entitled to avail themselves of on-site cafeterias is to include the cost of raw materials used to produce these meals, calculated in accordance with retail prices and then reduced by 10 percent. As a result of the introduction of this principle, the rise in reimbursement in workers' cafeterias will not exceed Z18 for dinner, or Z30 for meals each day. Similar principles will also apply to the organization of collective meals in restaurants.

JEDYNAK MEETS URSUS PLANT MANAGEMENT; TASKS NOTED

LD042040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Andrzej Jedynak met today the management of the Ursus plant and the executors of the investment projects connected with the development of tractor production. Andrzej Jedynak pointed out the need to make up the considerable delays in these investment projects. It was made incumbent on the investors and executors to work out a program and a schedule for the realization of investment projects adapted to the requirements which are determined by the technological process of tractor production. Zbigniew Szalajda, minister of metallurgy and engineering industry, and Tadeusz Opolski, minister of construction and construction materials industry, participated in the meeting.

EXTRACTION FIGURES AT KARLINO OIL FIELD CITED

LD041314 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Summary] A year has passed since the fire at the Deszowo-1 well at the Karlino oil field. The daily extraction rate at present is 150 tons of oil and about 30,000 cubic meters of gas. Since it was opened up, the field has produced 38,000 tons of oil and 11 million cubic meters of gas.

UNIVERSITIES, SCHOOLS REOPEN NATIONWIDE

Universities Open 8 Feb

LD041852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The minister of science, higher education and technology, having reviewed the proposals of the rectors of certain universities, has decided that lectures and courses will begin on 8 February this year for all students regardless at what point in their studies they are -- in the following educational establishments: the University of Warsaw and its affiliate in Bialystok, the University of Gdansk, the University of Silesia in Katowice, together with its affiliate in Cieszyn, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Marie Skladowska-Curie University in Lublin, the University of Lodz, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Mikolaj Kopernik University in Torun and Boleslaw Bierut University in Wroclaw.

Thus, courses and lectures will be renewed in all universities of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

Gdansk Colleges Resume

LD031650 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Following a break of over 1 month, courses have resumed at the Gdansk Academy of Physical Education and the state Higher School of Plastic Arts. In view of the extended curfew in the Gdansk Voivodship lessons at the colleges will end at 1830.

Krakow Mining Academy

LD031656 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Lessons resume tomorrow at the Stanislaw Staszic Mining and Metallurgy Academy in Krakow. The student hostels at the college have already begun to take in students. The lessons will begin at 0800 in accordance with the existing schedule. To make up for lost study time the college authorities have decided to introduce lessons on five successive Saturdays, beginning 6 February. It should be added that, in accordance with ministerial instructions, all lessons are compulsory at this college.

CHANGES IN STUDENT FINANCIAL AID REPORTED

Cafeteria Costs

LD022016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Feb 82

[Text] The Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology has let it be known that in connection with price increases the regulations concerning bonuses and awards for students distinguishing themselves in their studies as well as conditions for the use of student cafeterias and dormitories have been changed. The regulations defining the financial limits of daily student food allowance have also been changed.

Every student receives an allowance of Z1000. The allowance is paid on the basis of a statement that no other allowance is being received from any other source or for any other reason. Collective catering for students is based on the principle of subscription at student cafeterias by means of a chit issued by a higher education institution. This can be valid for either an entire day's catering or separate meals.

It has been calculated that a higher education institution contributes Z32 to each day of subscribed full board catering at ordinary cafeterias, Z38 at special diet cafeterias, Z46 at outpatient cafeterias and Z103 at rehabilitation centers.

Students currently pay Z57 for full board regardless of what kind of cafeteria they use. The increase in costs of catering resulting from the price rises is being fully reimbursed to students.

The Z120 fee for use of student dormitories is being maintained.

Dormitory Costs

LD291210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Text] Despite increased fuel and electricity charges students will still be paying Z120 a month to live in student dormitories. It is worth recalling that the cost of maintaining one person in a student dormitory, about Z1200 a month, will be increased beginning 1 February by a further Z100. Thus students, as has been the case up until now, will shoulder only a part of these costs with the rest being paid by the state.

Food in a student cafeteria will cost Z900 more than before, that is, Z1710 [presumably a month]. Compensation for students amounting to Z1000 because of the new prices of foodstuffs, fuel and energy is not the only form of offsetting the difference in the costs of living. Irrespective of this compensation the state will be subsidizing the food of every student who takes advantage of the student cafeteria by nearly Z1000 a month.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING COURSES TO LAST 3 YEARS

LD031740 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] From the start of the new academic year learning in vocational training schools will be extended to 3 years. This is a decision of fundamental social significance, connected with the realization of the decisions of the ninth extraordinary party congress which pointed out the need to make secondary level education more comprehensive in the current education model.

Each year more than one-half of the eighth level graduates start learning at vocational training schools. This year, from approximately 460,000 of these, 270,000 youths will enter vocational training schools.

WROCLAW CENTER RETRAINS CRAFTS WORKERS

LD041852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] In connection with planned redundancies in many state enterprises, there is the problem of utilizing people temporarily unemployed: One alternative is quick retraining and change of profession. Therefore, the center for professional improvement in Wroclaw, in conjunction with the craft industry chamber and the unemployment office has been carrying out short-term courses preparing for the needs of the craft industry in the nonsocialized sector. The completion of such a course gives a qualification sufficient for opening one's own business.

NEW RECTOR NOMINATED FOR POZNAN UNIVERSITY

LD021358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 2 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting has taken place at the Poznan -- Adam Mickiewicz University between the minister of science, higher education and technology, Prof Benon Miskiewicz, and the university's deans. During the meeting the minister presented the nomination for the new university rector: Prof Zbigniew Radwanski, head of the Civil Law Department and deputy chairman of the Social Sciences Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Vice rectors are Professor Andrzej Kwilecki, Hubert Orlowski and Stefan Paszyx, and Dr Jacek Trojanek.

THREE COASTAL PAPERS RESUME PUBLICATION

LD041404 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The daily paper of the coast, which since 13 December has appeared under a triple title, has ceased publication. Now all three coastal papers, GLOS WYBRZEZA, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI and WIECZOR WYBRZEZA have resumed publication. However, changes have taken place in editorial positions. Now Jozef Korlikowski is chief editor of GLOS WYBRZEZA; Alojzy Maclewski is chief editor of DZIENNIK BALTYCKI; and Jerzy Waczynski is chief editor of WIECZOR WYBRZEZA.

BALTYK STUDIO RADIO BROADCASTS ANNOUNCED

LD021503 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0540 GMT 1 Feb 82

[Announcement by unidentified speaker]

[Text] After an interval of six weeks you are welcomed by the morning information broadcast of the Western coast -- Studio Baltyk, You are able to listen to us, as before, on ultra shortwaves each day from 0640 to 0700 hours [0540-0600 GMT]. Apart from that, we will broadcast the latest news from our towns and the voivodship in the afternoon at 1720 hours [1630 GMT], five minutes after the beginning of the second block of broadcasts emitted each day from Szczecin. You will hear our broadcasts for the thrid time at 1830 hours [1730 GMT].

Each morning Studio Baltyk in its new form will broadcast the most important news in the bulletin "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow in Szczecin," and also urgent communiques, cultural news and information about the movement of ships in our port. In the 'Publicistic' section we will deal this week with prices. Apart from that, each day our colleagues from other editorial offices of the station will present talks and commentaries on various topics. Unfortunately there will be less music than before in our broadcasts.

LOT REINSTATES 7 FEB CANCELED FLIGHT TO LONDON

LD041642 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Polish Airlines LOT announces that the previously canceled 7 February flight to London will now go ahead. The departure is due at 0800 from Warsaw.

JARUZELSKI REMOVES BOBEK AS TARNOBRZEG VOIVODA

AU041356 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Report on Changes in Cadres"]

[Text] The president of the Council of Ministers has dismissed Wladyslaw Bobek from his post as voivoda of Tarnobrzeg.

OZDOWSKI RECEIVES POLISH-AMERICAN LEADER

LD042050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Prof Jerzy Ozdowski, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received (Ronald Mucha), a well-known activist among expatriate Poles in the United States, a partner in a Polish-American company called (Unitronex) and vice chairman of the Polish-American Economic Council. During the meeting Vice Premier Ozdowski discussed the current sociopolitical situation in Poland and emphasized the need and wide possibilities for coproduction and cooperation between the American Polish community and the fatherland.

GOVERNMENT BODY DISCUSSES TOURISM, OTHER ISSUES

LD281946 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Text] A session of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers has been held. It was chaired by Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Also present was Vice Premier Jerzy Ozdowski.

The committee familiarized itself with the sociopolitical situation of Poland and discussed issues pertaining to tourist traffic. Despite martial law, great interest in our country is being maintained among foreign tourists. Applications [to visit Poland] are coming in from organized groups from the socialist and West European countries. Poles living in America display great interest in taking part in the festivities to mark the anniversary of the cloister in Czestochowa. The committee has decided to propose that the Military Council of National Salvation should give its consent to allow organized tourist groups into Poland starting in April and individual tourists in May. At the same time it has been proposed that Polish tourist offices should be allowed to confirm places booked previously in leisure centers in the socialist countries.

Next, those attending the session familiarized themselves with a report on trips abroad to earn money and on the employment of Polish citizens abroad. In 1981 more tha 84,000 people were working abroad, being sent there by various enterprises. According to an assessment by the Ministry of Labor, many mistakes have been made in organizing employment abroad. The sociopolitical committee has appointed an interministerial team to draw up an action program in precisely this sphere.

The committee also familiarized itself with issues pertaining to private trips abroad. In the (first) three quarters of last year, about 870,000 people went abroad from Poland About one-fifth did not return, these people took up permanent or temporary employment abroad. Thus, our country has had to shoulder the serious loss of many good specialists.

The sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers also familiarized itself with a report on the situation in the school community. Great appreciation was expressed in connection with the fact that lessons at schools are taking place in conditions of social calm. Attendance is good. It was stated that great attention must be devoted to ideological-upbringing work at schools and to the need to consolidate teachers around the ideological and social values of socialism and to improving the didactic-upbringing process. It has been made incumbent on the minister of education and upbringing to draw up a short-term action program for the school community in conditions of martial law.

MILITARY COUNCIL MEMBER IN TRICITY AREA 28 JAN

LD290030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Text] Representatives of the ports of the tricity and of enterprises of port trade met today in Gdynia-Oksywie. Adm Ludwik Janczyszyn, member of the Military Council of National Salvation, took part. During the discussion attention was drawn to the fact that the complete calm that has prevailed for several weeks in Gdansk Voivodship makes it possible to implement the process of stablizing everyday life. A great deal of attention was devoted to issues connected with the maintenance of work continuity in the ports, which have recently had more and more goods to transload. During the session, the voivodship plenipotentiary of the Military Council of National Salvation, Zenon Molczyk, discussed the tasks of the army, pointing out that it is not there to take anyone's place but to help in the implementation of socioeconomic undertakings and tasks.

LABECKI COMMENTS ON NEW SHIPBUILDING CONTRACT

LD301656 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 30 Jan 82

[Text] Polish Ocean Lines has signed a contract with the Lenin Shipyard concerning the building and delivery of three fast container vessels. The first of them is due to be ready in 1984 and the last one, that is, the third one, in 1985. These vessels will serve the Far East lines. Jan Labecki, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the plant party committee in the Gdansk shipyard, who was present at the signing of the agreement, stated that the contract is a realization of the ninth party congress resolution calling for the development of the Polish fleet and the Polish shipbuilding industry.

COLLECTION OF JARUZELSKI SPEECHES ISSUED 24 JAN

LD242202 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Jan (PAP) -- The POLISH PRESS AGENCY, PAP, issued today an extensive documentary material composed of 29 pages of excerpts of sixteen speeches made by chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption, Prime Minister Army Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski between February 11, 1981 and the proclamation of martial law last December.

The excerpts come from speeches delivered at 5 plenary sessions of the Polish Sejm (parliament), 5 plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee and the PUWP 9th Congress as well as those made at numerous conferences and debates.

Due to these excerpts, the documentation illustrates three main currents of the Polish prime minister's public speeches:

-- Firstly, pointing to the swelling, increasingly dangerous extremist current in Solidarnosc -- and with it the rising threat posed to the country by the intensifying and growing anarchy and destruction.

-- Secondly, numerous warnings in this context which appeared to have been made in vain.

-- Thirdly, the appeals formulated throughout that entire period for constructive cooperation and joint actions of all the social forces of Poland to its benefit, to overcome the crisis and realize the programme of renewal. The calls were permanently and consistently rejected....

The documentation prepared by the POLISH PRESS AGENCY on the eve of an important Sejm meeting, which is expected to bring a momentous speech of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, is a kind of synthesis of the consistent stand held by the Polish prime minister who saw the threat swelling against Poland, warned against it, strived for fruitful national dialogue and wide cooperation, also with Solidarnosc.

The documentation which is in part broadcast by the Polish radio on Sunday constitutes a rich and perfect background for the Monday debates in the Polish parliament.

YOUTH, SCOUTING UNIONS HOLD JOINT MEETING

LD231528 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] The possibility for cooperation between the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and ZHP [Polish Scouting Union] toward the solution of concrete social and living problems were discussed at today's meeting between the representatives of the two organizations.

The meeting was attended by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP Central Board, and Chief Scout Andrzej Ornat. Problems concerning self-management in schools, and improving the methods of ideological and upbringing work were also discussed and information on the activity of both organizations after the 3rd Extraordinary ZSMP Congress and 7th ZHP Congress were exchanged.

U.S. SEEKING 'REVENGE' FOR MISCALCULATIONS

LD051154 Warsaw PAP in English 1121 GMT 5 Feb 82

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Feb (PAP) -- ZOLNIERZ WONOSCI today reiterated that the United States had attacked the whole Polish nation with the political grain weapon and had hypocritically and mendaciously abused the slogan of its alleged solidarity with the Polish nation, because "it now attempts to take revenge" for the fact that its intelligence services have run into discredit in Poland and for its miscalculation.

The Washington administration would like to see Poland "merely a pawn in its global political gamble to win world hegemony, or at least to keep its dominance over the capitalist system undivided.

"Political suicide of our nation fit in their calculation, because it would bring the United States some propaganda gains to capitalize on maybe somewhere in the Middle East, in Latin America, the Caribbean, or elsewhere," wrote the army daily.

Fails To Honor Kosciuszko

LD042220 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2120 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Today is the 236th birthday of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, and representatives of the Polish Embassy in Washington laid a wreath at the monument to the heroes of Poland and United States. This year, in contrast to the anniversary celebrations of previous years, there were no representatives of the U.S. Government or of Congress at the monument, nor was there any honor guard.

GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN REAFFIRMS YALTA AGREEMENT

LD041116 Warsaw PAP in English 0824 GMT 4 Feb 82

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Feb (PAP) -- "To let Poland be Poland," wrote Jerzy Urban in RZECZPOSPOLITA today, "two basic conditions must be met: A Polish stabilized statehood must exist and we must have a permanent territory within secure frontiers. The fulfilment of these requirements goes back to the Yalta agreements and the principles on European order which had been determined there. The madness and chaos introduced by Solidarnosc leaders in Poland posed a threat to these conditions.

The events of 1981 in Poland began to challenge one of the Yalta Treaty basic conditions: that Poland would not become a threat to the balance of forces in our continent, the government press spokesman said next. "Solidarnosc activists denied this, saying that they accepted the Yalta order. They acted, however, against their words. Now they have adapted their words to their previous undertakings," the government spokesman said.

Referring to demands made by Solidarnosc activists who are now in the West calling for a revision of the Yalta Treaty, repeated also by some Western countries, Jerzy Urban said that "if Poland became the object of foreign policy manoeuvres it would also become its victim.

"It would become the victim of both a successful, from the United States' point of view, destabilization of European relations since its Western frontier is based on the Yalta system as well as it would bear the costs of restoring the post-Yalta stabilization," the government spokesman affirmed.

HYPOCRISY SEEN IN FRENCH STAND ON POLAND

LD051154 Warsaw PAP in English 1115 GMT 5 Feb 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Feb (PAP) -- The Polish party daily TRYBUNA LUDU today wrote that the latest hardening of France's official stand on the Polish issue was marked by deliberate hypocrisy attributable more to the socialists' internal political considerations than external pressure. The daily's correspondent Marek Jaworski wrote that "the truth about Poland had ceased to count" in France -- now a scene of media gossip and rumours, misinformation spread by Solidarity emissaries, and a rising tide of anti-communism. Other internal factors indicated by the correspondent are the forthcoming local elections and a resurgence of attacks by leaders of conservative right-wing organizations designed to set the French communists and the socialists at loggerheads over Poland.

"There is plenty of deliberate hypocrisy in Paris' present stand which cannot be concealed for a long time," the daily said, but added that France's raison d'etat required a peaceful and stable Europe.

"For this reason France needs to have Poland strong, economically developed and a partner on the international arena... Poland as an essential factor in the European order and a weighty determinant of France's own position and strategy in the East-West dialogue."

"The programme, presented by General Jaruzelski, to lead Poland out of the political and economic crisis is the only real safeguard for such Poland. I believe that sooner or later France will understand this fact," the correspondent said.

SOVIET SUPPLIES, MATERIALS ENSURE CONTINUED WORK

Metallurgical Industries

LD031728 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] In January, railwaymen at the border station of Medyka-Zurawica transloaded 822,000 tons of raw materials and imported goods from the Soviet Union. Regular deliveries of raw materials from the Soviet Union have ensured continued work in many key enterprises, particularly in the metallurgical industry. In January, 660,000 tons of iron ore and iron concentrate, and 26,000 tons of pig iron were dispatched to Polish steelworks.

Additional Figures

LD021140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 2 Feb 82

[Summary] In January the Zurawica-Medyka-Werchrata dry port received 822,000 tons of raw materials and goods sent by the Soviet Union, 27,000 tons more than envisaged by the plan. We received from the Soviet Union primarily raw materials essential to our metallurgical industry, including 660,000 tons of iron ore, 93,000 tons of coal concentrate and 26,000 tons of pig iron. The remaining goods were mainly petroleum products and chemical articles, including asbestos, phosphorus, sodium sulphate and bromine.

SOVIET-ROMANIAN TREATY ANNIVERSARY MARKED

AU042100 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] On the 34th anniversary of the signing of the first treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, a festive meeting took place this afternoon at the Bucharest House of Romanian-Soviet friendship. The meeting was organized by the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the General Council of the Association for Ties of Friendship with the USSR [ARLUS] and the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee.

Magdalena Filipas, member of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy minister of light industry and member of the Bureau of the ARLUS General Council, and Vasiliy Ivanovich Drozdenko, USSR ambassador to Bucharest, spoke about the significance of this event. The speakers pointed out the traditional relations of friendship between the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, based on feelings of mutual esteem and regard. They emphasized that the treaty signed 34 years ago marked an important point in the chronicle of Romanian-Soviet relations and created a favorable legal framework for expanding and deepening cooperation between the two countries.

The speakers also stressed that a decisive contribution to the ever upward course of relations between our parties, countries and peoples was made by meetings and talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, which also contributed to continuously developing and deepening bilateral relations and promoting cooperation between the two countries in international life.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES BELGIAN SOCIALISTS DELEGATION

AU042110 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, president of Romania, received on February 4 in Predeal the delegation of the socialist parties of Belgium, led by Guy Spitaels, president of the French-speaking wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, now on a visit of friendship in Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. The delegation further includes Jef Ramaekers, member of the National Bureau of the Flemish wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, first vice-president of the Chamber of Representatives, honorary chairman of the "Dacia" cultural association, Michael Viseur, member of the Military Commission of the French-speaking wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, adviser to the party's president, Emy Spelkens, in charge of the international affairs of the party. The interview was attended by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The RCP secretary general warmly greeted the visit by the representative delegation of the socialist parties of Belgium, pointing out that it expresses the close relations between the RCP and these parties as well as the wish to amplify them continuously in the interests of strengthening the Romanian-Belgian friendship and collaboration.

During the interview, they reviewed the internal and international activities and preoccupations of the RCP and socialist parties of Belgium, analyzed the stage and prospects of the relations between the RCP and these parties, between Romania and Belgium and approached some essential aspects of the world political situation.

In this frame, they evoked with satisfaction the good relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the French-speaking and Flemish wings of the Belgian Socialist Party, stressing the mutual determination to expand in the future the relations between them grounded on full equality, mutual esteem and regard, to increase the contacts and exchanges of views on important problems of the struggle for peace and social progress.

The confidence was expressed that the intensification of this collaboration contributes to the promotion of the multilateral collaboration between Romania and Belgium, to a closer rapprochement between the Romanian and Belgian peoples. Both sides highlighted the wish to take further action for developing the traditional relations between Romania and Belgium in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and in other domains of activity.

Looking into the evolution of the world political life the sides considered the international life to have developed into a special tension, into a complex situation, where on the one hand the peoples' will to develop freely and independently in a climate of quiet and security has asserted itself, and on the other the policy of inequality domination and interference in the affairs of other states, redivision of the spheres of influence is still manifest, conflicts in various parts of the globe are continued, the arms race is intensifying, the world economic crisis is getting worse and the gaps among countries yawn wider, these being grave threats at international peace and security, at the independence of all nations. In full agreement the sides have stressed that under the circumstances more than even before there is a need for strengthened collaboration among all the states and peoples for halting the worsening of the international situation, for resuming the policy of peace, detente and collaboration, for grounding the international relations on the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of others and mutual advantage, renunciation of force and of the threat of force. At the same time they have highlighted the importance of finding solely peaceful solutions, by means of negotiations, to the states of tension and conflict, to all interstate differences, while strictly avoiding the military way and the armed confrontations.

Taking into consideration the serious violations of the rights of working people and the infringement of peoples' independence in various regions of the world, emphasis was placed on the necessity to intensify the struggle for the observance of human rights, of the rights of those who work, as well as the peoples' right to independence, to decide their fate by themselves, without any outside interference.

During the talk special attention was paid to European questions. It was appreciated that the implementation of security and cooperation in Europe would have a positive influence on the entire world political life and would meet the interests of all the nations of the world. In this respect, stress was laid on the necessity to act firmly for the Madrid reunion to conclude with ever better results, to lead to convening a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, to ensuring the continuity of the process of building European security and cooperation. The importance was revealed of building a Europe united in diversity, firmly attached to the principles of humanism, peace, equality and social justice, of each nation's independence.

Emphasis was placed on the concern over the unprecedented escalation of the arms race. It was considered that everything should be done for the cessation of the arms race and the passage to effective measures of disarmament, nuclear first of all, this being a highly important and topical objective.

Within this framework, the importance was highlighted of the big demonstrations, movements and initiatives in favour of peace in Europe, for stopping the emplacement of medium-range missiles, for determining the withdrawal of the existing ones and the ensurance of a real security on the European Continent, of new-type relations, by definitively eliminating nuclear armaments and in general by gradually reducing all armaments, at an ever lower level.

At the same time it was showed that the struggle for disarmament is closely linked to the struggle against underdevelopment, for the building of a new international economic order.

The fact was highlighted that the great issues confronting contemporary mankind cannot be settled if all states, regardless of their size or social system should not equally and actively participate in their settlement.

Both sides highlighted the particular significance of an ever closed collaboration among different progressive democratic forces in the struggle for detente, disarmament and security, for increasing confidence and strengthening collaboration among nations, for fulfilling the peoples' aspirations after peace, independence and progress.

The interview passed in an open atmosphere, of warm friendship.

FINANCE MINISTER GIGEA RECEIVES IBRD OFFICIAL

AU041959 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Petre Gigea, minister of finance, received on February 4 Ernest Stern, first vice-president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, IBRD, now visiting Romania.

During the interview, they examined the relations of cooperation between Romania and the International Bank, as well as the necessary measures for their development.

HONDURAS PRESIDENT RECEIVES ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT

AU291931 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 29 Jan (AGERPRES) -- Messages were exchanged in Tegucigalpa between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and the new president of the Republic of Honduras, Dr. Roberto Suazo Cordova.

Congratulations and wishes of success were conveyed to President Roberto Suazo Cordova on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu as well as wishes of prosperity and peace to the people of Honduras.

The president of the Republic of Honduras warmly thanked for the congratulations and wishes and, in his turn, conveyed to the Romanian head of state cordial and friendly greetings and to the Romanian people best wishes of peace and prosperity, stressing his government's wish to continue and develop the relations with Romania.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the participation of a Romanian special mission, led by Constantin Babalau, Romania's ambassador in Mexico, in the festivities of the installation of the new head of state.

CONSULAR CONVENTION SIGNED WITH PRC 4 FEB

LD041320 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- A consular convention between Yugoslavia and China on the protection of rights and interests of the two countries' citizens was signed today. The convention envisages the procedure for solving problems in various situations in which the two countries' citizens may find themselves.

The convention was signed by Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Yugoslav Ambassador to China Mirko Ostojic. On this occasion it was stressed that the convention is the result of the continuing development of relations between the two countries and intensified mutual communications, as well as friendly cooperation which has all prospects for its further advancement.

VRHOVEC TALKS WITH KENYAN LEADER SUMMARIZED

LD041652 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1609 GMT 4 Feb 82

["Pool" item]

[Text] Nairobi, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec, who is currently on an official visit to Kenya, today presented a message from President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher to Kenyan President and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Daniel Arap Moi. The message assesses as positive the endeavours being invested by the OAU and Daniel Arab Moi personally for peace and stability in Africa and particularly for the settlement of the crises in Western Sahara and Chad.

The message states that the international political and economic situations are unfavourable, primarily because of the use of force and interference in the internal affairs of other states and stepped-up bloc rivalry.

Kraigher's message underlines Yugoslavia's interest in strengthening bilateral relations with Kenya in all fields, particularly the economic. It also stresses the necessity of strengthening the activities of the nonaligned countries in order to surmount the existing problems and ensure the success of the Seventh Nonaligned Summit in Baghdad this autumn.

President Daniel Arap Moi expressed interest in the further development and expansion of relations between the two countries. He spoke in favourable terms of the participation of Yugoslav enterprises in Kenya's development, particularly the construction of roads. He also said Kenya was interested in engaging Yugoslav enterprises on certain economic development projects, above all in the agriculture.

The two countries' identity of views on the international situation and ways for surmounting the existing problems was expressed during Vrhovec's talks with President Moi. Both sides stated their concern over the deterioration of international relations.

The intensifying of bloc rivalry leads to a growing tension in the world and crises should be solved on the principles of the U.N. Charter, Arap Moi said in his talk with Vrhovec. He agreed with Yugoslavia's evaluations of the need to strengthen the Non-Aligned Movement's activities and of the special importance of the policy of nonalignment in efforts to build up new economic and political relationships in the world.

Daniel Arap Moi pointed to the OAU's role importance in international relations, within the nonaligned countries' movement. He particularly stressed the OAU's activity in solving African continent's problems such as, for instance, the situations in the Western Sahara and Chad. [sentence as received]

KOSTIC RETURNS FROM KUWAIT TALKS 4 FEB

LD041313 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1135 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Finance Secretary Petar Kostic returned here today from Kuwait where he conducted talks with a number of ministers about banking-financial investment and trade cooperation between Yugoslavia and Kuwait.

Kostic also conferred with heads of the Kuwait crediting and investment corporation and the Kuwait fund for economic development of Arab countries. On the occasion, the two sides also discussed Yugoslav-Kuwait banking cooperation and the promotion of their cooperation in third countries.

Petar Kostic was also received by Amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah.

CONSULTATIVE MEETING ON INTRANATIONAL RELATIONS

LD272340 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Maribor, 27 Jan (TANJUG) -- A 2-day consultative meeting opened today at Maribor University on the socioeconomic aspects of intranational relations in Yugoslavia. The meeting was organized by the Edvard Kardelj Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management, in cooperation with Maribor University and the Djuro Pucar-Stari University of Banjaluka, in connection with the birth anniversary of the great Marxist theoretician, revolutionary and scientist, Edvard Kardelj.

The consultative meeting, whose main attention is devoted to topical questions of the further development and strengthening of intranational relations in the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community which are basically of an economic nature, is also attended by France Popit, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia; Lazar Majsov, Andrej Marinc and Hamdija Pozderac, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and over 100 outstanding scientific, socio-political and economic workers from all socialist republics and autonomous provinces.

Kraigher Address

AU031211 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jan 82 pp 6-7

[Text] Maribor, 27 Jan -- The organizers of this Yugoslav scientific conference, which has become traditional and we may now also say renowned and which runs under the general titles, "The Thought and Revolutionary Work of Edvard Kardelj," have on this occasion again chosen a to ical and extremely important theme to be the subject of our discussion. I do not think it is necessary to cite reasons separately for the assessment that all those who have participated in choosing the theme, as well as in preparing and organizing this scientific conference, have assessed properly and in good time that it is precisely the socioeconomic aspects of implementing and developing relations among nationalities in Yugoslavia and the foundations of socialist self-managing democracy, and implementing and developing socialist self-managing democracy that uncover essential problems of our present social practice whose solution is followed with all attention in the world, too. It is therefore right that these aspects are today the subject of critical analysis and a broad theoretical and political examination at such a conference of scientific, public, social and political workers from all Yugoslavia, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, said today in his opening report "On Socioeconomic Aspects of Relations Among Nationalities in Yugoslavia Today."

He continued: The previous gatherings devoted to Edvard Kardelj's revolutionary work and creation illuminated his inestimable contribution to Marxist theory on the national problem. The scientific conference in Banja Luka in 1979, "National Problem in Yugoslav Theory and Practice," was full devoted to this. The examination of the national problem and relations among nationalities in Yugoslavia, or rather of their socioeconomic aspects, at this conference should join in the discussions and explanations of the numerous theoretical and practical problems in realizing the equality of the peoples and nationalities at the present level of development and revolutionary transformation of our society on the foundations of socialist self-management, and in this way contribute its share to the answers to key questions in this field of our life and development and of international life and development. Also at stake is the fact that in our search for answers to old questions under changed conditions, or to new questions which the development of socialism in our country and socialism as a world process incessantly broach and pose, our theory and our progressive social thought should confront our social practice and the development and events in the world. They should assess and illuminate these at the same time that they test and assess themselves, thus forging the way ahead and arriving at new perceptions so that our society may implement its set tasks more successfully and with greater certainty. The chief strength of Kardelj's work and his ability to change the circumstances and to reach beyond what we have outlived lay and still lie precisely in such a constant checking of his work and perceptions through social practice and its results, and vice versa.

In the irresistible dynamics of our social development and in resolving its contradictions -- both those inherited and based in our history and the new ones constantly arising -- we have ensured a continuity of the revolution and a realization of its genuine human socialist traditions precisely by constantly deepening and developing direct democracy and self-management -- grown in the revolution and out of the revolution -- in our social relations as a whole and especially in relations among the peoples and nationalities and the republics and provinces of our federation. The awareness of our working people and citizens -- as the basic protagonists of the revolution and its continuation after the war -- of the firmness, security and assured prospects of their social and national position and development has grown and strengthened out of and on this basis, just as it continues to do. It is this fact that opens to the international workers movement and to all mankind prospects of fresh possibilities of social development and socialism, and new independent paths for solving the contradictions and conflicts of the contemporary world and in relations among peoples of states.

In place of an opening outline of the domestic and international situation in which the conference devoted to Edvard Kardelj's thought and work is held this year, allow me to recall the following thought of Marx, somewhat freely quoted and interpreted.

In his work "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx said as early as 1852 that the proletarian revolutions, which were the revolutions of the 19th century, constantly criticize themselves, that they keep coming back to what has been apparently achieved, that they are again and again frightened by the inchoate enormity of their own goals until a situation arises where there is no turning back and when they renew their call:

Hic rhodus, hic salta: (In Hegel's parody) Here is the rose, here you dance! Or in other words, when they innocently [nedolzno] call: Let words (or boasting) turn into deeds, let revolutionary action lead to success, to emancipation.

[Footnote: A free interpretation on the basis of Bozidar Debenjak's remark to this passage in Marx' "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonapart," Ljubljana 1974, Komunist Publishing House, page 22]

The entire development in the world at present shows that this call is being made more and more resolutely and sharply as an urgent [neodlozen] demand for us and for socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, and that it is made for all the revolutionary processes toward the end of the 20th century, for the affirmation of socialism as a world process, for its development in every socialist country and for relations among them.

The socioeconomic aspect of relations among nationalities both in socialist self-managing Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the world, with all the multifarious socioeconomic and political systems and relations within and between them, confirms that in order to understand them, and for development within the states and between them, it is of decisive importance who disposes of surplus value and decides on it. This is the essential complement and contribution by Edvard Kardelj to the theory and practice of the national problem. Until Kardelj, this theory had not advanced a step from Stalin's definition of a nation as "a community of economic interests" and of "economic links" as the factors defining a nation in this respect. In this way, Kardelj set up an organic link between the social structure of a society and the phenomenon of a nation as an integral part of certain socioeconomic relations. It was this that enabled the social sciences to discover the laws governing the development of nations and relations among nationalities, their class content and their socioeconomic essence. In this way new opportunities have opened for solving the national problem as an integral part of the struggle for liberation from capitalist exploitation, and not only that but also the struggle for relations of equality and unlimited sovereignty among peoples and states. In this way Kardelj established the development of nations and equal relations among nationalities as an integral part of mankind's struggle for social and cultural progress in general, and in the era of socialism as a world process in particular as an integral part of the struggle of the workers class for its emancipation, for equal democratic relations among socialist states and for the broadest international cooperation and integration on these foundations.

The prestige and Solidity of Yugoslavia's International Position Rest to a Great Extent on Our Constitutional Political and Social Mechanism, Which the World Recognizes as a Precious and Generally Significant Experience

If at this conference today we discuss relations among nationalities and their socioeconomic aspects, it does not mean that anything has changed in Yugoslavia that could deny the fact that "in principle, which is to say as a problem of oppressed people and hegemonism, the national problem has been solved in the new Yugoslavia" [Footnote: E. Kardelj, The Development of the Slovene National Problem; preface to the second edition; Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana 1957, Page XLVII] As Kardelj wrote in 1957 in his preface to the second edition of his book "The Development of the Slovene National Problem," he continued: "The guarantee for this is the federal system and the entire constitutional political and social mechanism which ensures an equal position and self-determination to all peoples of Yugoslavia." [Footnote: ibid.] It is necessary to stress this precisely at the present time. The prestige and solidity of the international position of Yugoslavia rest to a great extent precisely on this fact, which the world recognizes as a precious and generally significant experience. It cannot be changed even by the constant, persistent and lately escalated attacks on the solidity of our multinational community with all the means available to propaganda psychological warfare and subversive activities by enemies of independent socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

At this conference today we are therefore not dealing with the national problem as a problem of unsolved relations among our peoples and nationalities in its former meaning and essence. We are dealing with it and we shall be dealing with it for a long time as an integral part of the further development and deepening of relations among nationalities in Yugoslavia on the basis of socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations, as an essential integral part of the development of these relations, and on the other hand as an essential factor of the integration processes in Yugoslavia itself and of its capability of being equally and successfully included in international integration processes with all their contradictions and conflicts.

Analyzing the development of relations among nationalities in Yugoslavia, Kardelj wrote in the above preface that the solutions in principle "do not mean that all aspects of the national problems in Yugoslavia have been liquidated, or that all the factors which could work in the direction of broaching one or another aspects of the national problem in an acute form have been definitely liquidated." [Footnote: E. Kardelj, The Development of the Slovene National Problem; preface to the second edition; Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana 1957, page XLVIII]

In this preface, Kardelj notes three factors because of which, he says, certain national problems may arise for quite some time in the future. These are, first, the ideological and political vestiges of bourgeois class nationalism. This factor appears above all as a mask of various antisocialist tendencies and a defense of various egoistic, particularist tendencies and as a consequence of inequalities and differences in development of the several parts of Yugoslavia. Behind the influence of this factor, as he said later in 1973 and which is even more applicable now, there lurks the influence of social forces which use it as a screen, "that is to say, for other social and political goals which oppose the progressive democratic socialist and self-managing tendencies prevailing in Yugoslav political life now, and which also oppose the nonaligned policy conducted by Yugoslavia in the international field." [Footnote: E. Kardelj, The National Problem in Yugoslavia and Its Foreign Policy; Selected Works, Volume IV, "The Nation and International Relations," Komunist, Belgrade 1979, pages 402-403] We may add to this today that the Kosovo movement under the slogan, "Kosovo Republic," has demonstrated this with sufficient conviction.

The second factor is bureaucratic centralism and its ideopolitical manifestation, the greater state hegemonism or the striving for a privileged position of a nation. Of these tendencies Kardelj says that, were they to grow, they would "distort the relations among nations to a much greater extent that nationalism, undermine the democratic achievements provided in this field by our socialist revolution and thus cause new contradictions which would have a fateful influence on the development of socialist relations in our country in general. [Footnote: E. Kardelj, The Development of the Slovene National Problem; preface to the second edition; Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana 1957, page L] Further on he adds: "The experience to date of international socialism provide us with telling data on how negative the consequences of such tendencies are in the practice of relations among peoples marching on the road of socialist building." [Footnote: ibid, page LI]

And third, as Kardelj says, "the great differences in the economic development of the individual parts of Yugoslavia are a very important factor in the development of relations among the Yugoslav peoples." [Footnote: ibid, page LIII] Overcoming these differences and ensuring in common, as he says, "equal conditions for every working man in his creative efforts for the progress and improvement of one's own and the people's general position [Footnote: ibid, page LIV] are the elementary national-political economic and socialist interests of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia which, just as the interest in general social progress, are a condition for the unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, who also demand such unity. However, this is a difficult task which cannot stand any extremes and which calls for a suitable development of the developed regions in every period of progress and stability, and for an increase in the productivity of labor in the existing organizations of associated labor. However, this is becoming increasingly more dependent on the more rapid development of production forces and the general social development in the economically less developed republics and autonomous provinces, and on a reduction of differences in the level of development among the less developed republics and autonomous provinces and the more developed parts of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia Has Been Developing as a New Form of State and Self-Managing Social Community, Its Peoples and Nationalities and Their Workers Class With a Completely New Social Nature and New Substance

Each of these factors has influenced and continues to influence the development of Yugoslavia, its peoples and nationalities, or rather its socialist republics and autonomous provinces, and the integration processes in Yugoslavia, particularly in the economic field and in its linkage with foreign countries. Nonetheless, these factors are now acting in different, in socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations -- that is, on the foundations of social property and socialist self-managing democracy.

True, it is with troubles and difficulties that these new relations are prevailing over old relations in daily practice and in the society's awareness. However, in this struggle the new relations, nonetheless, are increasingly reducing the scope and increasingly more resolutely clashing with the appropriation of someone's else surplus of labor on the basis of private-property and group-property monopoly and the administrative-centralist system of expanded reproduction, or rather with such tendencies. This means that new relations are simultaneously clashing with the assertion of various elements and forms of the traditional state-property relations and to so-called "territorialization" of resources on the Yugoslav level as well as on the level of the republics, provinces, communes, towns and special sociopolitical communities.

For this reason Yugoslavia has been developing as a new form of state and self-managing social community of its peoples and nationalities, and its workers class and all working people and citizens, with a completely new social nature and new substance. The characteristics of Yugoslavia's social relations and our development cannot be understood on the basis of the state-legal categories of federation and confederation valid elsewhere, and even less can they resolve the contradictions in the socioeconomic relations and development that exist and are appearing in the pluralism of self-managing, as well as political and national interests, when relations among the peoples and nationalities and their development are involved.

Yugoslavia has changed, as Kardelj says at the crossroads in the development of our socialist society, "into a specific socialist self-managing society of peoples, which simultaneously means a vitally new category in international relations." [Footnote: E. Kardelj; The Crossroads in the Development of our Socialist Society -- Excerpt From a Supplemented Speech at a Session of the Central Committee Secretariat of the League of Communists of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 26 August 1969, Problems of Our Socialist Development, published by Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana 1974, Book IX, page 40] Kardelj's definition -- continuing this thought -- of Yugoslavia's new character is also fully valid today, both when this new category is shown as an already reached result, as well as when it is shown as the direction of Yugoslavia's further development: "The independence of peoples (naturally this also applies to nationalities -- S.K. note) in such a community becomes greater than in the traditional federations and confederations, while at the same time the processes of integration in all those fields in which the common interests of peoples and working people exist, and where the conditions for equality are ensured, are much more widely open. The current state of these relations is still burdened by numerous obsolete forms and institutions, as well as by possible pressures of objective brakes and opposing tendencies. Therefore, I do not at all think that development in this field will be very quick or without any opposition, deformations and other difficulties and obstacles. However, this is no reason to look back instead of looking forward." [Footnote: ibid]

In Every Republic and Province We Have Achieved New Qualities in the Economic and Social Development in Every Respect and in All Fields of Social Work and Life.

In implementing this "looking forward," the characteristics of the Yugoslav federation and its development have further increased and intensified, and have found their legal expression in the 1974 Constitution, in the Law on Associated Labor and in other so-called laws pertaining to the system. The fundamental provisions of the Constitution and laws in particular have become the basis for the political and social activity of all subjective socialist forces, particularly of the League of Communists, and for implementing its basic programmatic decisions. Since that period our society has advanced greatly. In that time we have achieved in every republic and autonomous province new qualities in the economic and social development in every respect and in all fields of social work and life. We have vitally reduced the differences between the developed and less developed regions of our country, both as regards their material and human development potentials, their knowledge and culture, as well as with great results achieved in employment in all republics and provinces, and thus also Kosovo. In that time we have built the entire edifice of a political system of socialist self-managing democracy together with the bases of self-managing socioeconomic relations in overall social reporduction. For this reason it is understandable and necessary that in this connection many and always new problems arise, primarily in the field of socioeconomic relations and particularly as regards the development of the republics as states and as socialist self-managing democratic communities, and in the full scope of their responsibility -- responsibility for their own development and for the development of their mutual relations, and responsibility for the functioning and development of the federation as a whole.

Kardelj defined the new social nature of the federation which applies to relations among the federation, republics and provinces, particularly to relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as follows:

"...When we discuss the dimensions of the federation, republic, province and so forth, we essentially discuss the dimensions of the independence, freedom and material capabilities of the peoples and nationalities within the framework of the self-managing system upon which the entire existence of all our peoples and nationalities rests. Therefore, in my view, the relations among the federation, republics and provinces are also not equal and cannot be treated as the relations of traditional autonomy. Within these frameworks, the function of the province has an essentially similar position and role as a republic, particularly if we consistently develop self-managing economic relations in the field of developing the production forces about which I have spoken earlier. If we achieve this, then the very development of production forces on the basis of self-management and the entire surplus of labor which the self-managing community will control will also be -- at all levels -- the material force of cultural and the entire social development, of the social superstructure of all peoples and nationalities, so that within this framework even the small nationalities will be fully expressed within the narrow area in which they live." [Footnote: from E. Kardelj's speech at a meeting of the political aktiv of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in Pristina on 11 July 1969 -- shorthand version]

With the realization of these principles in our social relations, the economic independence of peoples and nationalities is increasingly more directly linked with the economic independence of man, with the self-managing position of the worker in associated labor and the working man, with the development and intensification of self-management as a specific form of permanent assertion of the right to self-determination. The linkage of destinies and the mutual dependence of the peoples and nationalities in Socialist Federal Yugoslavia -- which came about as the result of the self-determination of its peoples and nationalities -- is not forced on anyone since it cannot, as a form of subordination, "be imposed from above but is the result of common interests of the working people of all peoples."

[Footnote: E. Kardelj: The Socioeconomic Tasks of the Economic Development in the Future Period -- Report at the Eighth LCY Congress -- Problems of Our Socialist Development, Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1957, 1963, page 488] And also according to Kardelj: "We have defined the relations which result from this in the Constitution, and the powers of the federation also rest on these foundations. The state power also backs up these relations, precisely for this reason to ensure the implementation of these relations on the basis of equality of the peoples and nationalities and inviolability of their socialist foundations. In fact, these relations of equal mutual dependence are the condition for true independence of every people in developing the material basis of their social life and progress. [Footnote: E. Kardelj: working, unpublished version of the report for the Eighth LCY Congress]

We Frequently Forget Realizations, Experiences and Laws Precisely When We Seek a Way Out and Solutions for Complicated Contradictions and Difficulties

The past development of our peoples and nationalities and their mutual relations on the basis of socialist self-management confirms the principal findings of Marxist science and its use in our social practice, as well as the LCY's programmatic and political decisions and the basic constitutional principles. It is on these findings that our views and conception as Marxists, and our social practice and its results in overcoming the obsolete relations and phenomena and the outdated awareness in our society are based. However, we frequently forget the realizations, experiences and laws that we have established precisely when we seek a way out and solutions for complicated contradictions and difficulties as direct tasks of our social development and life. The achievements of our social science on the basis of our social practice, therefore, do not serve us always and everywhere sufficiently as a compass which is the only one that can enable us, as it has essentially always done in the past, without great delays between Scylla and Charybdis, between various rocks of our domestic and international development, to successfully resolve contradictions, complications and difficulties and without great delays to make new steps in liberating work and man. For this reason we still frequently tackle solving mutual relations and contradictions of social development in the old outdated way. However, the outdated practice and measures make possible a new spread of all those social, economic and political forces and tendencies in relations among the nationalities which we have already mastered in the past development, and for which we have found suitable solutions that were adopted and confirmed in the development of our federation and relations among nationalities. This provides an opportunity for the reassertion of the basically already defeated antiself-managing tendencies and their proponents. For this reason, in continuing I will deal with certain components of our socioeconomic relations which have a vital influence on relations among nationalities in our country and on relations among the republics and autonomous provinces, on their development and on the development of Yugoslavia as a whole.

If we establish that the national problem in Yugoslavia has been resolved in principle as a problem of oppressed people and hegemony, [Footnote: E. Kardelj: The Development of the Slovene National Problem, preface to the second edition, Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1947, page XLVII] then this particularly means, among other things, that our peoples and nationalities are not only economically, but also politically independent. This means that in principle they freely control their surplus social work as a basis for their cultural, scientific, social, economic and overall development. The nationalities as communities realize this right and responsibility differently and in a special way in accordance with their position, size and the compactness of their settlements and life with members of other peoples or nationalities, and with regard to their organization in the sociopolitical or self-managing communities.

A free control of surplus labor, however, is possible -- and is much more asserted -- if in relations among the republics and provinces, as well as communes and all other sociopolitical communities, the basic principle of socialist social relations, that is the principle of distribution according to one's work, is sutably used and asserted.

This means that every people has "the right and real possibility to live and develop in accordance with the results of their work and with the development of production forces, and that no force outside this people -- that is, outside the mutual relations among the working people and peoples as laid down by the Constitution -- can control the fruits of their labor," as Kardelj says, stressing in particular the following: "In fact, this principle is only a logical result of the distribution of income according to one's work and of self-management in work collectives. We could not speak at all about an equitable position of the working man when using the principle 'everyone according to his capabilities and to everyone according to his work' if these relations among peoples rested on other principles."

In addition to that, any other form of division can only be maintained by the power of the state and this means that, by its internal logic, it must necessarily negate self-management and the democratic elements of socialism." [Footnote: E. Kardelj: unpublished working version of report to the Eighth LCY Congress]

In this connection let me also simply summarize Kardelj's idea that we can speak about the economic independence of the people on the basis of self-management and under the contemporary conditions as well as about the economic independence of the working man only to the extent to which the basic principle of socialist distribution according to work is implemented in the economic relations between peoples and to the extent to which primarily the principle "everyone according to his abilities and to everyone according to his work" is asserted in the economic relations among the working people, the self-managers. Just as it is impossible today to speak about a complete and "already developed" self-managing society, it is also impossible to speak about a "final," "concluded" and "completely built" self-managing position of peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia, their intranational relations and conflictless situation. Many elements of the old socioeconomic and political relations, which have the opposite effect, not only exist but are even predominant still today.

Republics and Autonomous Provinces Are Fully Responsible for Their Own Development and, at the Same Time, for the Development of the Federation as a Whole

On this occasion it is impossible to define or discuss all the elements of implementing the principle of distribution according to work, the elements which, according to our past experiences, influence the relations between the republics and autonomous provinces and possibly also the international relations. The question is what we must change in the functioning of our socioeconomic and political system and its components and especially in the functioning of delegations and the delegate system, the organs of the federation and leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations to enable the republics and autonomous provinces to the greatest extent possible to implement in their practice the constitutional principle that they are entirely responsible for their own development and, at the same time, for the development of the federation as a whole; and, on the other hand, to ensure that all responsible sociopolitical factors, as Kardelj says, "will have the same attitude toward their own functions within the federation as they have toward the functions within their own republics." [Footnote: E. Kardelj: crossroads in the development of our socialist society. Excerpt from a supplemented version of speech at the expanded session of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 28 August 1969; "Problems of Our Socialist Construction," the Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1974, book nine, page 25]

From the viewpoint of the achieved level of our social and economic development and especially the development of the socialist self-managing relations and from the viewpoint of our international position and our foreign economic relations, I think that our main tasks appear primarily in three spheres of our social development and political work:

First, in consolidating and developing the self-managing position of workers within the associated labor and of the working people in decisionmaking on income and surplus labor and on all questions concerning the use of the conditions, means and results of their work. In other words, in developing and deepening the self-managing relations in all spheres of social work and life and in the relations among them [workers and working people] in social reproduction and in the social and political life of each individual republic, autonomous province and sociopolitical community;

Second, in overcoming and finally and definitely settling accounts -- in our economic policy and social practice -- with arbitrary encapsulations, the policy of autarky and the failure -- in our economic development -- to respect the economic laws and especially the laws that reign in the international market and the contemporary world economy of which we are also a part; and in preparing our economy for the most efficient inclusion in the international economic trends. All measures of the economic policy also must be subordinated to these requirements;

And third, in the functioning and in perfecting the functioning of delegations and the delegate system as the basic form of organization of the workers class and all working people in our sociopolitical and, especially, assembly system. This applies equally to determining and coordinating the authentic interests and views at society's grassroots and at all levels or organization of our multinational community and to ensuring the equality of all parts of the workers class and of the interests of all peoples and nationalities in every sociopolitical community and thereby also in the relations between the republics and autonomous provinces either directly or through the organs of the federation.

The assumption of direct management of and economic operations with the social capital by workers, that is, the social capital as their realized past labor, and the subordination of past labor to the current living labor, the production effect of which in creating new values and surplus labor is increased by past labor, have represented the essence of the revolutionary socialist self-managing transformation of our society since the introduction of the workers' self-management in 1950. As a result of its victory, the October Revolution opened a new period in the history of mankind and the workers' movement and created, on an international scale, new lasting social foundations and incentives for the revolutionary process of liberation of labor and man, the processes which are developing and will continue to develop in all countries of the world and in each of them in a way that is suitable for and specific to them. The beginning of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia implies that the struggle for direct socialist self-managing democracy, as a new form and a new stage of the struggle for the liberation of labor and man, has begun to make its way in the social practice of millions of peoplw of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. The socialist self-management indicates not only the possibility for but also the inevitability of opening new roads and form in the struggle for revolutionary transformations of society in other countries also and in asserting socialism as the world process, in a way that is suitable for and specific to them and in accordance with the changed internal and international social and political relations and conditions. Of course, this did not imply and does not imply that the results and incentives of the October Revolution have been thereby exhausted. On the contrary, they continue to have their effect because they opened the period of building and developing the human society on the basis of human work, something which alone can provide the real socioeconomic basis for a full assertion of human rights and democratic freedoms with a true human social sustance free from exploitation and oppression. The socialist self-managing democracy deepens and enriches their substance and, in the contemporary period and under contemporary social conditions, more directly defines the fulfillment of the goals of liberation of labor and man.

In developing socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, we must achieve at the current level of development a qualitative change precisely in this decisive field. If we want to achieve the power of work over capital, to eradicate everything in society that leads to capital -- to really change relations and social capital into what it really is, that is the means of social reproduction -- then we must overcome two components of the old obsolete system both state-property as well as group-property relations.

First, in the field of expanded reproduction, including economic relations with foreign countries, and in integration processes relations still prevail in which workers do not decide on these problems, or their decisionmaking is very formal, but primarily the managing and professional organs and services in a greater or lesser linkage with and dependence on the managing organs of banks and corresponding administrative and political executive organs of the sociopolitical communities and organizations decide on these problems. Thus, in the field of expanded reproduction and in economic relations with foreign countries, relations have been retained in which a worker of the basic organization or associated labor still is in a socioeconomic position that is characteristic of a wage worker. In addition, since neither workers nor other aforementioned managing factors are economically vitally motivated for the highest possible income, and since workers are not in such a position that they could by economic means directly control their work, results, too, are also corresponding and greatly dependent on the political and social awareness of those factors.

And second, credits and credit relationships, and not income and the management of income in the basic organization of associated labor or in a work organiztion, continues to remain the basic form of financing expanded reproduction; that is, dependent on factors outside the organizations of associated labor and their decisions. While in addition, in relations with foreign coutnries, credit and credit relations continue to remain the basic form of relations in current reproduction and in their development.

The Fact that Personal Incomes -- As Well as Their Common Use -- Are Really Formed on the Basis of Labor, Both Current and Past Labor, Is of Vital Importance for the Development of Self-Managing Socialist Relations

The development of the standard of living in the individual republics and provinces and, in all its components, of both personal incomes and the social standard is basically directly dependent on the differences in in productivity of labor. This is a generally accepted fact in relations among the republics and provinces and autonomous provinces in the past development of intranational relations. On this occasion, I cannot deal with this extensive and closely interwoven problem of development and functioning of all elements which influence the movement of the standard of living and also define the existing differences among the republics and provinces. The laws to which Marx pointed when he discussed the national differences between wages and the elements which influence the absolute and surplus value are basically valid in all those elements, which are not decided by a specific, that is capitalist social relationship. To analyze these components in their mutual dependence at the current level of development at the end of the twentieth century and at a time of mutual linkage of peoples and countries, as well as their influence and mutual functioning on the unified Yugoslav economic area and in diverse forms of integration of labor and resources, and their influence on the relations among nationalities in the past development and the tendencies which we must consider in future -- this is and undoubtedly must be a wide and constantly open field of work of the scientific institutions and professional organs. In this report I will only draw attention to these dimensions in the expectation that the discussion will make a contribution in this respect. And second, let me draw attention to the vital importance for the development of socialist self-managing relations and their common basis, the constitutional demands and rules, that personal incomes and their common expenditures are really formed on the basis of labor -- current and past labor -- and that other sources of income from exceptionally favorable circumstances serve to expand the material bases of work and to develop production forces; that is, for expanding the strengthening social property and social wealth.

The distribution of income, that is the participation in income in accordance with the results achieved in handling and managing past labor, is incorporated into the Constituion, the law on associated labor and other laws pertaining to the system as the basic criterion for the participation of the individual self-managing factors in social reproduction in the society as a whole in the newly created value; that is, in the society's overall income as social income.

The assertion of participating in the overall social income on this basis in the overall economic relations in society is the basic economic motive for the basic organizations of associated labor in all their integrative or business linkages from the work organization and the self-managing interest community to the joint income which serves the sociopolitical communities, in accordance with the Constitution and laws, as the material basis for performing their social functions. This principle must be asserted in our self-managing system as a vital component and as an indispensable economic motive for economical and successful management with the means of social reproduction in all self-managing and sociopolitical organs where decisions on income are taken. It must be asserted particularly for workers of the basic organizations of associated labor by shaping their personal incomes also with a share in the thus increased income of the basic organization of associated labor.

Nonetheless, in implementing the principle "from everyone according to his abilities and to everyone according to his work," the remuneration according to the results achieved in management and economic operations with past labor, with the means of social reproduction, is neglected or underrated in theory and practice within the increased newly created value or increased income and surplus value; some people even oppose this remuneration, yet, without the participation of those making self-managing decisions on social income on the basis of results achieved in managing and economic operations with past labor, the basic economic motive does not have the effect, in social reproduction on self-managing foundations with the right to work with social means and with social property, or making the allocation and distribution of income everywhere and to a sufficient extent serve increasing production and productivity of labor. Everywhere where this form of economic motivation was asserted in our society, it fully confirmed the justification for its assertion in accordance with the Constitution and the law on associated labor within the full complex of our socioeconomic relations. When the yardstick and criterion of an economic motive prevails in socioeconomic relations, then it will be possible in our society to overcome the weakness which Kardelj described with the following words while substantiating the 1974 Constiutional amendments: We like very much to speak about justice in distribution but we frequently forget production, the justice to those who increase production and productivity of labor.

Nowhere, including in our country, are the national questions and intranational relations limited only to the interests of the workers class and, to an even lesser extent, only to the problems of their socioeconomic foundations and the free disposal of surplus labor by the workers class. On this occasion also I have dwelt on this issue somewhat longer because, as regards the basic organization of associated labor earning income, and its practice in our society, participation in the social income on the basis of contributing to its increase and to social labor productivity, as well as the remuneration of workers on this basis, are also of essential and, we can even say with Kardelj, decisive importance not only for the entire development of our society -- and thereby also for the assertion of self-management -- but also and especially for intranational relations, relations between the republics and the autonomous provinces, and relations within each of them individually. But as has been said, contrary to this, the essential element of our socioeconomic system and socialist principle of distribution according to work has been neglected both by theory in which it should be a subject of study and development and by numerous organizations of associated labor. In some places it is not taken into consideration because of a lack of understanding and routine, whereas in other places this is done deliberately because it introduces essentially new self-managing elements in the relations among workers of the basic organizations of associated labor and workers of common services, elements which abolish the monopoly of the managing structures and place their work under the direct economic control of workers in the basic organization of associated labor.

Self-managing System Cannot Function on Its Own and By Its Own Laws Without Organically, Completely and Consistently Conceived and Justified Motives

This gap in the system of our socioeconomic relations and the system's incomplete character avenge themselves in multiple ways and manifest themselves in the many shortcomings in the system's functioning, shortcomings which can be reduced or their harmful consequences alleviated by political work, but which cannot be eliminated. The self-managing system cannot function on its own by its own laws without organically, completely and consistently conceived and justified motives on the basis of economic operations with past labor. For this reason, until that is achieved, those economic incentives will continue to have their effect and those socioeconomic relations will be preserved which do not consolidate the position of the worker as self-manager but continue to keep him in a subordinated position as regards the decisive issues of expanded reproduction and foreign economic relations, and which force him to accept the position of a wage earner at the same time as they strengthen the monopoly position of the managing structures, including the responsible political factors, which are moving fatther away from direct control by workers and becoming alienated from the real interests of the workers class and society as a whole. For this reason it is only with difficulty that the old practice and measures of economic policy as well as the old philosophy, views and theory taken from the old systems are being overcome. Therefore, the fulfillment of economic tasks and the tasks of social development must be accompanied by constant political actions of short-term successes, as well as by administrative measures of a wider scope. But this slows down the development of self-management and the assertion of the self-managing position of the worker, including all of its rights and responsibilities.

Under these conditions, the republics and the autonomous provinces, as self-managing communities and states or sociopolitical communities, cannot find their full expression in accordance with their responsibility for their own development and for the functioning and development of the federation as a whole. In the same way the direct links among the republics and autonomous provinces and among their organizations of associated labor and self-managing interest communities, especially for the purpose of self-managing transformation of the fund for developing less developed regions, cannot be sufficiently motivated by economic elements. This necessarily has a negative effect on solving the common problems of development both within Yugoslavia and on the activities of the appropriate organizations of associated labor abroad in accordance with their lasting economic interests, something which reduces their ability to join the world's integrative trends. In this connection the system of self-managing social planning also lacks one of the essential elements which would make possible the necessary objective criteria and measures for social planning and making decisions on the instruments of economic policy, and in concluding the appropriate self-managing agreements or accords on the basic social plan.

Key Issue of Development Is That Workers Must Have Full Control Of and Fully Decide on Social Capital

The workers' full control of and decisionmaking about social capital at all stages, in all components of social reproduction and in the society as a whole and, in this connection, especially the decisionmaking by workers in the basic organization of associated labor about income in all forms of income-based integrations, represent the key question of developing and deepening socialist self-management. In this connection our revolution also has reached the point at which it could be a threat to itself and its results if in this sphere, which involves many elements of the class struggle, the subjective socialist forces failed to persevere with all of their revolutionary consistency, and make new decisive breakthroughs at least at the most important points of social reproduction.

We have already said that implementing the basic principle of socialist distribution, that is distribution according to work, is one of the essential factors influencing relations among the republics and autonomous provinces as regards free disposal of surplus labor.

At the present stage of social and economic development, we are implementing this principle under the conditions of commodity production and with the functioning of the market and through it. But, as we know, the market does not distribute according to work but according to funds, according to the capital invested. On the other hand, the Yugoslav market is a component part of the world market and subject to the effect of its laws; that is, the laws governing international economic relations. These factors essentially orient the flow of newly created values within the unified Yugoslav market and, as a result of their spontaneous effect, involve the tendencies of deepening the existing and opening new contradictions in society and in social development. This applies both to relations among the individual economic organizations or types of production and to the differences in the level of development of the individual republics, provinces and regions.

For this reason, mastering these laws in our society is one of the main tasks of social planning and social plans of the self-managing organizations and communities and sociopolitical communities. The social plans and especially the social plans of the sociopolitical communities will be all the more realistic and effective, in this respect. The more realistically they assess the limits of their effect and the more they again reassess, at every stage of development, the possibilities for their influence on and reorientation of the economically legitimate economic and social trends.

The process of self-managing economic integration or the self-managing association of labor and pooling of resources, and the objective mutual interdependence of the working people, the producers, which manifests itself in an increasingly greater division of labor, sepcialization and cooperation within the Yugoslav economic area, is developing on the objective foundations and characteristics of the functioning and development of the unified Yugoslav market whose functioning, of course, it also influences and to a certain extent determines. Therefore it is a fundamental question to what extent the present practice in our society encourages the development of these processes and relations of social labor productivity both among producers in the basic organization of associated labor and within each individual republic and autonomous province and within the Yugoslav society as a whole.

Most Widely Different, Contradictory Intersts Find Their Expression in the Unified Yugoslav Economic Area Just as in Any Other Economic Area

Moving on in the briefest of outlines, in connection with the topic of this conference, to discussing the influence of the Yugoslav market on intranational relations, I must immediately point out that it would be wrong to turn all the processes appearing in the relations between the economic organizations of different republics and provinces into a complex of problems of intranational relations. In the same manner, it would also be a gross simplification to consider the relations and the already existing problems which appear, and to what extent thay may appear, among our peoples and nationalities, only from the viewpoints of the republics and autonomous provinces, or to consider the responsibilities of the political organs of the federation only or predominantly from these viewpoints. The most widely differing contradictory interests, which are mutually interwoven and are resolved in accordance with the functioning of the market and its laws, find their expression in the unified Yugoslav economic area, just as in any other economic area, through not always in the same forms. The functioning of the market may cause problems in relations within associated labor and society. But in a multinational state also it is not necessary for these problems to be considered and solved as international problems, but instead must be correctly solved on a self-managing basis: that is, by the nature of things, within direct relations between the appropriate organs of the republics and provinces. Even if some problems and contradictions grow into a problem of relations between a republic and a province, this still does not mean that, by their substance, they are intranational problems, although they can become such if they are not solved or if their meaning is incorrectly assessed.

In connection with the importance of the effect of the market and market laws on the development and mutual relations among the republics and autonomous provinces in Yugoslavia, I think that we must draw attention primarily to three elements which are characteristic of the present functioning and role of the market, and of our further development, as well as to the reaction that these elements evoke in theory and practice today.

National Economy Cannot Be Discussed in the Sense of National Encapsulation of Economy, as Kardelj Says, But in the Sense of Total National Assertion, Superstructure, Culture and Civilization and Vice Versa

First of all about the unified Yugoslav economic area and market. Under the conditions of the economic (and, of course, also political) autonomy of our peoples and nationalities and our republics and provinces, the Yugoslav market functions as their common and unified market and as a part of the world market: The integration processes within Yugoslavia and the processes of integration with the economies of other countries are elements of the world economic integration. In a world in which the integrative processes are becoming increasingly predominant on the basis of contemporary resources and the scientific revolution, the economy of any individual people can develop and assert itself only if it includes itself in these integrative trends. For this reason the free development of a people implies also the freedom of joining in these trends in the world. This then is one of the aspects of national sovereignty but it is nevertheless only one of these aspects and consists, as we have already said, of the right of a people to sovereignly and freely dispose of its natural resources and wealth, and of the conditions, means and results of its work. For this reason the national economy cannot be discussed in the sense of national encapsulation of the economy, as Kardelj says, but in the sense of the total national assertion, superstructure, culture, civilization and so forth and vice versa. [Footnote: E. Kardelj: "Socioeconomic Tasks of Economic Development in the Coming Period" (report at the Eighth LCY Congress), "Problems of Our Socialist Construction," the Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1968, page 488] If the national economy is treated as an isolated economic mechanism which should function as a closed group in relation to others, then it is impossible in this connection to speak about national economy or about the defense of national interests, but only about republican statism which sooner or later must collapse economically and politically or degenerate into separatism. It is for this reason that Kardelj adopted the view that national economies should be discussed more from the political than the economic viewpoint.

Much is being said nowadays about a break-up of the unified Yugoslav market and the development of eight individual national and provincial economies as one of the basic causes of current economic difficulties and the growth of nationalism and nationalistic tendencies. Although these phenomena and tendencies do exist, in appraising them, we must not mistake causes for consequences because in that case we would willy-nilly question the very constitutional position of the republics and provinces and thereby also our self-managing system. [Footnote: from the speech by E. Kardelj at the meeting of the political aktiv of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in Pristina on 11 July 1969; shorthand notes]

Superficial Examination of Phenomena and Actual Relations in the Yugoslav Market and Generalized Appraisal Are -- Or Can Be Appraised As -- A Special Kind of Political Pressure for a Return to Centralism

We must analyze the negative tendencies and their causes in this respect, define them within the real limits and within the framework that is appropriate to the existing relations, and then discern the appropriate social and economic substance from statistical data. Without this, it is impossible to assess the growth of the economic strength of the republics and provinces or the peoples and nationalities, as well as their ability for their own autonomous development and for developing their relations with others both in Yugoslavia and the world on the basis of equality and full mutual responsibility, solidarity and assistance.

This is also one of the aspects of the present position of Kosovo and the Albanians and all peoples and nationalities living together in Kosovo and Serbia. Any other approach would lead us to centralistic egalitarianism and its bureaucratic coercion which, at least in Europe, certainly no longer suits anyone, including even the Albanians in Albania. A superficial examination of the phenomena and actual relations in the Yugoslav market and any generalized appraisals without appropriate analyses are, or can be appraised as, also a special kind of political pressure for a return to centralism. And this understandably meets with a lack of understanding and resistance, and often and nearly legitimately also with a particularist reaction. And on the other hand, this often hides the real causes, or their gross simplification, of a strengthening of autarkic tendencies and weakening of the integrative role of the Yugoslav market.

These are the causes which stimulate inflation and its consequences, which are merely manifested in the market phenomena. Further, these are the causes which lead to a shortage of foreign exchange -- which most certainly do not lie in the sphere of distribution -- which weaken the position and role of the dinar as the national currency and do not contribute to the tasks leading to its convertibility. One neglects a systematic examination and evaluation of the relationship of subjective socialist forces as well as the relationship of the state organs toward the monopolistic activities of many composite organizations of associated labor, and nonself-managing relations within them, which restrict the market in a linkage with respective organs of communes, republics and banks. One neglects and permits the activities of multinational companies and their influence on associated labor organizations in not allowing suitable, technologically and economically justified links with other associated labor organizations, so that capital relations infiltrate themselves under the pretext of business secrets and markets are closed and a competition struggle develops in our market as well as in foreign markets in the name of our enterprises, but for the account of foreign firms, when these associated labor organizations link up with political businessmen and with banks. Likewise the economic policy measures and instruments are not being examined with a sufficiently critical mind as to the extent they contribute to the so-called fragmentation of the market, and are not being improved.

Any Kind of Export Is Pushed Without Sufficient Economic Criteria and Blanket Restrictions Are Imposed on Imports Without Suitable Economic Selection Criteria

Instead of this, one attacks the position of the republics and autonomous provinces in our socioeconomic and political system and their role in such cardinal matters as their responsibility in the expanded reproduction system and in the development movements and mergers in Yugoslavia and with the outside world; the role and responsibility of the state organs is equated in a simplified way with the role and responsibility of self-managing communities; and very little feel is shown for suitable relations of responsibility between the organs of the republics and autonomous organs and the organs of the federation in keeping with their several and joint responsibilities. This has been recently most pronounced in the tendencies or demands invoking the Constitution to establish a unified Yugoslav market in an administrative way or by legal means. However, they do not prosecute unlawful behavior in this market nor do they eliminate the shortcomings in the practical use of the payments positions or the foreign exchange positions of the republics and autonomous provinces in the Yugoslav balance of payments or the foreign exchange balance; these shortcomings -- apart from being a consequence of the recently predominant isolationism [zapartost vase] in our economic policy with foreign countries and of the poor development of self-managing relations -- are above all a consequence of the false methodology in preparing these balance positions in the Yugoslav balance, of their lack of connection with the social plans and planning and of neglect for planning and regulating the foreign exchange flows -- and thus foreign liquid means of payment -- along with the flow of physical goods. In this way the gross revenue and income -- which are always expressed in dinars and which guide the economy and on whose basis the mutual relations among the republics and provinces are regulated -- are also prevented from most directly displaying the true economic results of foreign trade and of economic relations with foreign countries.

Without sufficient economic criteria, any kind of export is pushed and blanket restrictions are imposed on imports without suitable economic selection criteria. In doing this, the importance and role is underrated of such communities of associated labor as the communities for prices and economic relations with foreign countries and the communities of the associations of the republican and provincial self-managing interest communities for large systems in the sphere of infrastructure, which should, according to the Constitution and laws -- to a great extent, precisely according to Kardelj's intention -- ensure a direct influence and undivided responsibility of associated labor in solving and coordinating their specific mutual relations, along with a sufficiently clearly designated legal responsibility for a suitable intervention of the state organs and legal conditions, which will permit or demand such an intervention.

At this conference, I am speaking about this problem so as to draw attention to how a superficial and undifferentiated criticism of various phenomena and tendencies on our market and in the Yugoslav economy, and the activities based on this, can lead to the fact that individual problems and different interests in these sensitive fields can develop -- and this is also happening -- into nearly unsurmountable difficulties in negotiations and also into conflicts among the republics and autonomous provinces, and further to a weakening of the authority and power of the pertinent federal organs. And all this can easily develop into problems in relations among nationalities. As we can see, certain circles abroad are expecting this to happen, and on the basis of these phenomena they make decisions about about a possibility or necessity for Yugoslavia's destabilization. On the other hand, we see that despite the economic difficulties and instability and a noncoordination of views on certain problems, it does not come to such a destabilization. On the contrary, precisely with our orientation toward the activity and negotations of workers in the organizations of associated labor, in accordance with their interests in their entire self-managing organization and with the activity of the pertinent organs of the republics and autonomous provinces, we achieve -- for instance in economic relations with foreign countries, since we have been more consistent in this orientation -- results which we earlier did not achieve.

When we speak about a territorialization of accumulation, commodity trade, the association of labor and the pooling of resources, educational systems and the like, we must recall that we are not discussing these problems in our country for the first time. We held similar discussions during the preprations for the Eighth LCY Congress, as well as later. Kardelj's views expressed in those discussions are also very topical today, particularly when we discuss the problem of territorialization of accumulation. At that time, and particularly 1 year later, Kardelj warned of the danger of an increased character to statist relations in the republics, provinces and communes, and of managing and appropriating these funds in a statist bureaucratic property way. [Footnote: see E. Kardelj: The Socioeconomic Tasks of Economic Development in the Future Period (report to the Eighth LCY Congress) -- Problems of Our Socialist Development, Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1958, pages 488 and 489] Criticism of territorialization is justified when it proceeds from the positions of reduced state control and self-management. However, Kardelj warned that territorialization at one level gives rise to territorialization at another level, that it provokes an autarkic isolation from others and that, among other things, this happens in order to compensate for what has been taken away with a centralistic alienation. Also now we periodically encounter views and opinions proceeding from the premise that a centralization of accumulation in the hands of the federation is not "territorialization" nor a restriction imposed on workers in associated labor as regards integrative processes at home and abroad.

Integrative Processes Have Advanced and in Many Organizations of Associated Labor They Have Achieved a New Quality, Although Certainly Less Than Our Development Demands or as We Would Wish

Nonetheless, the integrative processes have advanced in this respect and in many organizations of associated labor they have achieved a new quality, although to a lesser extent than is demanded by our development or as we would wish. The deteriorated economic situation in the past half year continues to promote the integrative processes to some extent, particularly the need for cooperation and linkages to expand and intensify exports and trade with foreign countries, and the necessary increase in competitive capability. The success must be all the greater the more the tendencies and processes which destroy, as Kardelj used to say, "the matrimonial union" [Footnote: E. Kardelj: Working, unpublished version of the report for the Eighth LCY Congress] between the state and social capital, and which create a broader material basis for workers in the basic organizations of associated labor and work organizations to make decisions on expanded reproduction and on inclusion in integrative processes will be promoted in associated labor and society.

The fact that the sociopolitical communities or their state-political structures, linked with managing structures in associated labor without the working people and producers, have a decisive influence on the trends and relations of social reproduction is one of the important stimuli for tendencies of isolating the market and a "territorialization" of commodity trade, accumulation and the like. The fact is that many organizations of associated labor, because of their reduced accumulation capability, have no funds to pool together since, as it is, they secure the necessary money funds predominantly from the credit system and from foreign sources. A way out of this situation is for all subjective forces and in every self-managing organization and community in every commune, town or region and republic or autonomous province to wage a struggle to the end in this field and to win it to begin to directly and fully assert their constitutional rights and obligations.

The federation, or rather its organs, deal overly much with the daily practice of economic and social life. Naturally, the federal organs are not the only ones responsible for this, although it is certain that in many matters which the federal organs deal with as part of their state administrative functions it is frequently seen that they do not consider Kardelj's view "that it is normal for these matters to be attended to by the republics wherever possible, since people more easily bear state coercion within their republic than when it comes from the federation." [Footnote: A reply to the question asked by the editorial office of the Slovene edition of KOMMUNIST, Problems of Our Socialist Development, Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1980, Book X, page 295] The responsibility of the federal organs is also insufficiently expressed in the federal social plan -- to use Kardelj's view -- so that their main activity should be predominantly directed, on the one hand, toward ensuring a constant reproduction of self-managing socialist socioeconomic relations and their expansion and intensification, and on the other hand, toward a system of relations among nationalities primarily as relations among the republics and the autonomous provinces, so that the economic policy of the federation and the development policy of the republics and provinces coordinated with that policy contribute to strengthening and developing these relations.

Although the policy and practice of the federal organs may be burdened by many weaknesses for which all must and do carry full responsbility, nonetheless it results from the foundations of our system that the process of the weakening of state control in the republics and autonomous provinces depends primarily on the activity of the latter's subjective socialist forces, and for this reason they bear full responsibility.

If I say something more about the activity of the Yugoslav market from the viewpoint of implementing the principle of remuneration according to work, then on this occasion I would like to mention two other elements which cause the isolation of the Yugoslav market and the strengthening of the tendencies of the so-called territorialization of trade trends, accumulation, foreign exchange and the like, and which also encourage localist, republican and provincial interests against the interests of Yugoslavia's overall development and of its every part as demanded by the country as a whole.

First of all, it is a fact that in its current activity the Yugoslav market does not carry out, or rather not sufficiently consistently and not everywhere, one of its main functions -- that is, the weeding out of poorly operating, or encouraging above average, organizations or associated labor. Thus, the basic economic motives of workers in the basic organization of associated labor for increasing productivity weaken. Losses are "socialized," which means that they are changed into social expenditure. Among other things, precisely for this reason the work organizations are not developing on the basis of income relations, nor are any other forms of integration developing, and for this reason there is no incentive for creating business planning communities of the organizations or associated labor or for creating suitable linked reproduction entities based on income. This is the basis for a slow growth of social productivity of labor as the main source of inflation, along with increasingly greater demands of social development, as well as for encapsulation of the economy and economic organizations within the narrow communal, city and regional, republican and provincial boundaries, and thus for weakening the integrative activity of the unified Yugoslav market. Here also lies one of the main sources of "dirty" accounts which are shown in relations among the organs of self-managing interest communities, and in these communities themselves, and among the republics and in the republics or on the federal level, other "dirty" accounts are shown in disputes and difficulties in coordinating the price policy and the relations among prices, or in connection with the credit-monetary measures linked with the operations and responsibility of the national bank in the federation and in the republics and autonomous provinces and the relations with commercial banks and with various political factors. Yet other "dirty" accounts are shown in the difficulties in the negotiations in interrepublican committees or in the SFRY assembly.

One of the basic factors that essentially prevents the activity of the Yugoslav market with all its logic and in all its functions is the credit-monetary system, the credit-monetary policy and the money issue policy. In this respect the national bank plays a special role, and this bank already interferes with its money issue function in the areas of expanded reproduction and causes a significant uncontrolled flow of accumulation funds. This necessarily provokes many localistic reactions and also a justifiable misunderstanding of the organizations of associated labor.

Speaking about the socioeconomic aspects of relations among nationalities, we must dwell on the problems of the less developed republics and provinces. It is quite certainly not necessary to prove that it is economically and politically well grounded to ensure their accelerated development and to speak about the significance of this development for the equality of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia and for their unity. This question is nevertheless being broached in practice, particularly in developed communities, whenever changes occur in the price policy and price relations and in other business conditions and when contributions are determined for the respective fund or the federal budget.

The present level of social and economic development, and especially the differences in the level and the degree of development of the economies in the several republics and provinces, necessarily cause transfers of newly created value in the unified Yugoslav market.

Practice has not yet disproved Marx's proposition that a nation may appropriate and does appropriate part of the surplus labor of another nation through the division of labor in the market as long as the differences in the economic development levels and the levels of labor productivity between countries and nations are being perpetuated through the logic of unharmonized development and as long as the law which takes the more productive labor of a nation, in the commodity distribution relations among nations, as more intensified labor is operative. Just as "...within the borders of a country complicated skilled labor may appear in relation to simple unskilled labor, so in the same way labor days may appear different in different countries. In any case the richer country exploits the poorer, even when the latter gains by the exchange..." [Footnote: Karl Marx, Theories of Surplus Value, Vol. III; Prosfeta, page 82] This is the law of the distribution of commodities among all the countries and nations of the present world. It is a law which is also manifested in the present position of the developing countries and which has in fact been recognized by the developed countries, too, when they agreed to global negotiations as the first step that should open the road to a new international economic order.

Quicker Growth of the Productivity of Labor in the Yugoslav Economy in General and in All its Parts Provides the Opportunity for Allocating More and More Additional Accumulation for the Development of Less Developed Regions

The same law operates in our country, which is to say in the Yugoslav market, but of course under different conditions and in different forms. The present stage of development of Yugoslavia as a whole demands that we critically examine the problem of the efficiency of utilization of the existing production capacities in less developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as well as in the entire Yugoslav economy. If we neglect this factor, we would get into a posicion in which we would have to allocate larger and larger resources for the requirements of accelerated development, but the growth of the productivity of labor would slow down both in the developed and less developed republics and provinces because of the less economical utilization of the resources. It is precisely a quicker growth of the productivity of labor in the Yugoslav economy as a whole and in all its parts, however, that provides the opportunity for allocating more and more additional accumulation in the form of joint investments, and that more firm and reliable guarantees for the economical and efficient use of this accumulation are created on the basis of the interest in the highest possible joint income.

The present stage in the development of the system and policy of accelerated development of less developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is in a way crucial in this process; it contains elements of an administrative centralization of capital while at the same time a self-managing association of labor and pooling of resources is coming to the fore. With the accord on the foundations of the social plan of Yugoslavia, we accepted that the self-managing association of labor and pooling of resources be expanded to 50 percent; this gained the full understanding of all the delegates of the republics and provinces and we were unanimous in seeing the advantage of the association of labor and pooling of resources as a way of ensuring an accelerated development of the less developed republics and the Socialist Atonomous Province of Kosovo. In the ideopolitical aspect, too, it means a step forward compared to the system of forced centralization of accumulation followed by distribution with all the negative consequences that relations settled in such a way bring along.

Now we are in the midst of a process in which interested organizations of associated labor begin to establish more intensive ties and to discuss joint programs, the basic conditions for implementing them, as well as respective rights and obligations, including the obligations of joint risks. Undoubtedly there are still many obstacles on this road and there are not enough concrete encouragements.

Nevertheless, a foundation is being gradually created on which the associated labor organizations can begin to join directly in the social plans of the less developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the various forms of their self-managing links, with mutually agreed rights and obligations. While fully respecting the principle that each republic and autonomous province is autonomous in deciding its own economic and development policy, economically justified utilization of pooled resources in this way becomes a joint interest and a joint task and responsibility. In this process and with the development of this practice, the fact becomes increasingly clear that the essential thing is not just the financial aspect of joint investment in the narrow sense of the word, but primarily the transfer of technology, know-how and organizational experience, which is to say all that in its content contributes to a real increase of the material basis of labor or the production forces and that is reflected in the result of the joint investment, in the increase of newly created value and income, joint responsibility and joint risk by both sides and the increase of the individual and the average social productivity of labor. Of course this demands that we should know each other much better than we do now.

The advantage, the merit and the historical significance of self-management lie in the fact that it enables agreement on joint matters within diverse ones. An essential and necessary condition for agreements and accords is to know and to consider the objective conditions of life and development of every republic and province and of their specific traits, while determining and realizing the interests of the Yugoslav socialist community as a whole. This demands a professionally and scientifically grounded answer to the question of what -- to put it simply -- all should know about everybody and everybody about all so that this mutual knowledge provide a suitable orientation for the association of labor and pooling of resources, for earning joint income and for respectively undertaking joint rights, obligations and responsibilities for efficient joint investments in order that they may constitute a true contribution to the enhancement of the material foundation of associated labor in the republic, the autonomous province and Yugoslavia as a whole, and in order that the newly created value and the income earned on this foundation may enable the invested funds to be repaid and to be suitably recompensed.

Common Interests and Tasks as Well as Mutual Obligations and Rights Accepted by Yugoslavia's Social Plan as the Common Interest Must Be Determined for Every Republic and Province

This, however, requires a system of carefully elaborated indexes that can be used as a basis for specific discussions on the actual trends, the nature of changes in the work and life of the working people, in creating the conditions for creating new values and realizing the income and, on this basis, in fulfilling their interests and needs, and on the question of what opportunities are created for the republics' and provinces' autonomous development on the basis of deepening the self-managing socioeconomic relations by their own achieved material basis. This can serve as a basis for answers to the question of the way in which each individual republic and autonomous province participates with the dynamics of its own development in solving the common Yugoslav problems both in internal development and in foreign relations. This can also become the basis for determining for every republic and autonomous province those common interests and tasks as well as mutual obligations and rights which, because of their significance, are accepted as common by the social plan of Yugoslavia and the accord on the plan's foundations, which, as the common interests and tasks together with obligations are incorporated in the social plans of the republics and provinces and in the accords on the foundations of these plans and which will be truly created on the basis of self-managing agreements on the foundations of plans between the self-managing organizations and communities concerned.

Just as until now, today we can say that the struggle of the small peoples and the undeveloped parts of the world for their own assertion and progress is simultaneously also a struggle for the progress of mankind.

And that struggle, according to Kardelj's conception, will not end as long as the class societies continue to exist and "...as long as the nation objectively continues to perform that socioeconomic function because of which it has been created in history, that is, as long as the progress of the production forces and socialist relations does not outgrow this function." [Footnote: E. Kardelj: Development of the Slovene national question; preface to the second edition; Slovene State Publishing Enterprise, Ljubljana, 1957, page LXXII] What is even more, under the conditions of great concentration of the economic, political and military power in the hands of a few big powers and an increasingly greater power of multinational companies, the question of intranational relations now also arises among states of the developed part of the world.

Even though it may appear contradictory at first glance, the assertion is valid that what is involved is a growing mutual interdependence of states and peoples, the interdependence that is now predominantly realized in the form of domination, coercion, exploitation and restriction of the sovereignty of peoples in disposing with the results of their work, that is, with their surplus labor, natural resources and the like. However, this is nevertheless only one of the ways and forms, still predominant today, through which the processes of integration between peoples are being carried out. Another way is an increasingly greater independence of peoples and states and their persistent struggle for equality in international relations.

Increasingly Higher Unemployment and Economic Stagnation Are No Longer Just Flaws in the Beauty of the Welfare States But an Expression of an Increasingly Deeper Crisis of Capitalist Production Relations

A growing process of economic, cultural and scientific integration between states and peoples is characteristic of the contemporary world. The laws and contradictions of this integration express themselves and show their phenomenal forms in the relations of mutual interdependence, cooperation and integration between the producers and production entities from different states and in the relations of integration of the entire national economies within various institutional forms, such as the EEC and others. The integrative tendencies, as the laws of this process, are also evident in the special session of the UN General Assembly on the new international economic system, that is, a system that essentially implies a search for the forms and ways of solving the problems of the world economic development and of solving the crisis through a quicker development of cooperation between the developed and less developed countries as a basis for the development of the less developed countries and, at the same time, as a way out of the blind alley in which the developed countries find themselves. The fact is that an increasingly higher unemployment and economic stagnation are no longer mere flaws in the beauty of the welfare states and full employment. They are an expression of an increasingly greater crisis of the capitalist production relations and the so-called Western world. A particularly important place within this context must be assigned to increasingly closer association between the developing countries themselves to enable themselves through mutual cooperation to more easily assert themselves as equal partners with the developed countries in solving mutual economic problems and solving the economic problems of the contemporary world.

Relization That Ownership Monopoly Over the Means of Social Reproduction Is Not and Cannot Be the Only Possible Form of Socialism Is Deepening

Thus, it would be a mistake if we failed to see in the present relations in the world and also their contradictions -- as Kardelj used to say -- the embryos of tomorrow and of future relations. These embryos are the contradictions of the contemporary international and especially international economic relations in which, in addition to the dominant relations of subjugation and exploitation, there are also tendencies to dialectically overcome these relations -- that is, there is a struggle for the economic independence and equality of peoples and states. However it is necessary to struggle for that and mankind will have to struggle for that during an entire era.

The effort to develop the mutual economic and political support between the independent, small or weak and economically less developed peoples, who are not as yet ready for the competition forced upon them by the contemporary processes of economic integration, and to ensure that wherever possible they act together in defending their interests is one of the factors of that struggle. [Footnote: E. Kardelj: speech at seminar for secretaries of committees of communal conference and intercommunal secretaries of the League of Communists of Slovenia, in Bohinj on 9 September 1972]

Essential for overcoming the present relations is the fact that the creative implementation of the legacies of the October Revolution and the realization that administrative socialism and the state ownership monopoly over the means of social reproduction are not and cannot be the only form of socialism and socialist development which are being strengthened and deepened in socialist practice in the world. In addition to previous experiences in other socialist countries, the experiences of Poland are sufficiently instructive to show that the workers class of every socialist state must find its own road of building its own socialist relations on the basis of new forms of a democracy based on the interests and power of the masses of the working people, a democracy which alone enables the workers class to fulfill the tasks imposed by the irrepressible social development and by the solutions for its contradictions. They also show that perseverance in following foreign examples and experiences can disorient the masses of the workers class and open and clear the road for the aspirations to save the outdated bourgeois system and restore or strengthen the forces which were defeated in the past and enable these forces to encroach upon and interfere in the internal development.

Today we can see the confirmation of Kardelj's views on changing relations between peoples not only in the socialist and anticolonial revolutions of the contemporary world and in the policy of the Nonaligned Movement, but also in the awareness and the spontaneous political movements of the working and the widest masses of people in the developed Western countries and in the relatively large movements against arms buildup and the arms race, for the protection of man's living and working environment, for full employment and for participation in decisionmaking on all decisive issues of human life and the future.

Science and Practice Are Always the Most Closely Connected Components of the Wide Process of Revolutionary Socialist Creative Work and Transformation

It is an indisputable fact that our Marxist theoretical thinking and science in general are of extraordinary importance for defining and analyzing the processes of further development of our society as a whole and especially the further development of intranational relations on the basis of socialist self-management.

As regards the LCY and our entire self-managing socialist society, science and practice have been always the most closely connected components of the process of revolutionary socialist creative work and transformation. Until now we have already had -- and we should have to an even greater extent in the future -- in science and theory one of the post powerful means of democratic development in all spheres of our social life, especially in view of the greatest possible direct engagement of science and theory in developing socialist self-managing production and social relations as a whole.

As an expression of the synthesis of the revolutionary ideology and the most progressive practice of our society and experiences of socialism in general, our science has a double role and responsibility. On the one hand, together with the entire creative potential of the society and its progressive forces, it is responsible for researching the laws of the revolutionary socialist development and for the course and direction of the revolution and provides support and the foundation for revolutionary transformations. And on the other hand, it is responsible for the substance of democratization of social relations on the basis of self-management and for answers to the questions posed by the living revolutionary practice from day to day before all factors of self-managing activities and social decisionmaking.

For this reason science must constantly make the greatest possible contribution to seeking answers to the specific questions of self-managing associated labor and the entire life of our society.

Speaking about the importance and responsibility of science in our soceity, we must, of course, also speak about the need for greater efforts by science to constantly contribute to solving numerous problems in the field of intranational relations in Yugoslavia. I think we can agree that with regard to the problems of the nation and intranational relations, our social science is achieving undeniable results generally and in the sphere of analyzing and critically examining the basic components and general principles of the Marxist theory of nations — that is, wherever the ground has already been mainly cleared theoretically and ideologically. However, the results are essentially more modest in the sphere of specific research of our social practice and, in general, or developments in this sphere in the contemporary world. Apart from some individual exceptions, in this sphere there is no sufficiently continuous scientific research activity which would provide the basis for solving definite problems in specific relatons -- that is, in implementing the general concept of intranational relations in Yugoslavia. It is precisely because of the lack of this activity that our science finds it difficult to anticipate future trends both in the external and internal fields and that what occurs or what is coming often "surprises" both science and us.

Let me briefly draw attention to yet another field of research. A thorough and comprehensive analysis of the theoretical creative work of Tito and Kardelj and our other theoreticians in this field is needed in addition to the analysis of the historical trends and the past development of intranational relations in Yugoslavia. This analysis is needed not from the viewpoint of an apologetic acceptance of everything that has been said but from the viewpoint of seeking those theoretical premises wich enable us to determine and find solutions for the further progress which enable us to determine and find solutions for the further progress and development of democratic relations, based on equality, between the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia and in the world in general. This foundation is found in the theoretical thinking and revolutionary work of Tito and Kardelj. I am convinced that our conference will also confirm this, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, said at the scientific conference in Maribor.

Consultations End

LD282318 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1655 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Excerpts] Maibor, 28 Jan (TANJUG) -- The participants in a consultation on socio-economic aspects of inter-national relations in Yugoslavia, which ended today here in Maribor, Yugoslav constituent republic of Slovenia, unanimously assessed that the problems Yugoslav society encounters can successfully be solved only on the basis of true self-management and consistent realization of the workers' rights.

Sixty or so of the consultation participants took part in the ensuing discussion. The majority of them pointed up the need for a more decisive battle against technocratic and administrative centralist tendencies in the distribution of social resources.

SAWPY FEDERAL CONFERENCE CONCLUSIONS ON ECONOMY

LD041906 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- This year's activity and tasks of the Socialist Alliance, which were pointed out at this year's first SAWPY Federal Conference session on 14 January, should above all be aimed at realizing the policy of economic stabilization.

One of the most important concrete tasks, according to the conclusions published today, is the concentrating of all the resources -- primarily through the self-managing pooling of labor and resources -- in support of the priority aims of development policy, and then the struggle against inflation, especially through the consistent carrying out of the policy of prices, comprehensive economizing, better attitude to work and greater responsibility for the carrying out of the planned tasks. It is also necessary to be resolute in suppressing all the trends toward regional or any other form of isolationism and any way of undermining the unity of the Yugoslav market.

The Federal Conference insists that agreements, contracts and other documents resulting from the resolution on the realization of the medium-term plan in the course of this year must be signed in good time at all levels of social decision-making, from the local communities to the federal level. Those responsible for failure to carry out any accepted obligations should be made accountable and the appropriate sanctions should be adopted against them.

One of the main lines of action and tasks in the sociopolitical activity, according to the Federal Conference, is the re-examination of the existing production and development plans and their adaptation to the material possibilities. Every self-managing organization and community should fully develop its own capacity and resources and struggle to ensure that everybody's income is gained solely on the basis of the work done and productivity achieved by the person concerned. The struggle for economic stabilization must be waged in all the spheres of work and decision-making in society, ranging from major investments, material production costs and general and joint consumption to management and administrative costs, which represent an excessive burden on income and material resources. In this sense every decision on social resources and the income achieved should be scrutinized by the delegate grass roots [few words indistinct].

In the realization of the policy of stabilization, the Federal Conference stresses, the entire action of the Socialist Alliance should be inspired by the struggle for the creative involvement of the workers in associated labor, for cultivating their direct interest in and feeling of responsibility for the increasingly higher quality of economic activity and for consolidating the material basis of self-management. In connection with thie involvement it is indispensable to stimulate productive, expert and creative work by means of adequate material and social recognition and of suppressing of any forms of any levelling down. It is also necessary to be more persistent in struggling for the speedier provision of employment for those young people who are trained for work in spheres of crucial importance for the further development of our economy on the basis of high productivity and stability.

In conclusion, the Federal Conference emphasizes that we must not allow the current difficulties to demobilize us in the struggle for self-management and that in particular we must not allow the adversaries of our system to exploit these difficulties. Every action should stem from the geniune realization that we can resolve our economic problems more speedily and thoroughly only by making a better use of our existing capacities, work hours, skills and abilities and by uniting all our resources on the basis of self-managing pooling and income-based association.

DJURANOVIC CHAIRS MEETING ON OIL SUPPLY 4 FEB

LD042232 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1745 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- According to a statement by the Federal Information Secretariat, the Federal Executive Council held a meeting today in which presidents of republican and provincial executive councils took part. Veselin Djuranovic chaired the meeting.

The meeting discussed the report on the supply of the market with oil and oil derivatives and the measures which the Federal Executive Council had taken and is taking to overcome the difficulties which had arisen. Reference was also made to measures taken by the republics and provinces.

Though the Federal Executive Council had taken measures to ensure continuous imports of crude oil, the meeting noted that certain difficulties in the supply to the economy and the population in various parts of the country with oil and oil derivatives have arisen. This has happened because there has been a certain delay in the purchase of crude oil.

The meeting also discussed the emergency measures to ensure the imports and payment of oil and oil derivatives within the framework determined by the energy balance sheet so that the situation in supplying the market with these products can be normalized as soon as possible. In order to alleviate the difficulties which have arisen, the federal goods reserves have already intervened by supplying certain quantities of oil derivatives in areas in which the supply difficulties of oil derivatives in areas in which the supply difficulties are most serious; the most-needed interventionary imports of certain quantities of oil derivatives too will be approved. Federal organs are working hard to find efficient solutions for other outstanding issues in this sphere.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia will intensify the control of in-payments on the basis of the law which ensures the setting aside of foreign exchange resources for the imports of oil in line with the energy balance sheet of the country for this year. The National Bank of Yugoslavia will regularly inform the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and provinces on the way these resources flow in.

The meeting at the Federal Executive Council also discussed some issues referring to the implementation of the established policy in the sphere of economic relations with other countries, the price policy and the current problems in supplying the home market with corn within the framework of the realization of this year's planned economic goals.

YOUTH LEAGUE DISCUSSES DEFENSE TRAINING 4 FEB

LD042236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- Since 1976, when training of young people not attending school for tasks of defense and protection started in all the republics and provinces, over 300,000 young people of both sexes have undergone training. However, not all young people have been trained because some environments lack orderly records about who is subject to training. This was noted at today's session of the Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Presidium of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia.

In addition to positive assessments made about the training of young people not attending school for tasks of defense and protection, today's debate also pointed to serious weaknesses in this sphere. Above all, preparations for training are not carried out according to plan. Furthermore, there is a shortage of textbooks. The skill of lecturers is fairly uneven. The material required for training is not in line with the real needs of training and this too affects the final results.

The members of the commission also discussed the response of the young to military schools. It was noted that the interest of the young for education in military schools and academies is falling year by year. Many reasons which affect the declining interest of the young were also mentioned. Judging by everything, the problem lies in the attitude of the young to work.

SERBIAN PARTY DRAFT CONGRESS REPORT CRITICIZED

AU041740 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 82 p 6

[R. Kljajic report]

[Text] At yesterday's session of the Commission for the Development of the League of Communists of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia, the draft report for the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia, particularly that part that speaks about the development and the organizational, ideopolitical, action and cadre preparations of the League of Communists, was very sharply criticized. Most participants in the discussion stressed that the wroking group which prepared the draft report painted a too idyllic picture of the League of Communists and its activity. It was even said that the report is badly written, in bureaucratic language, it is unpolitical and without sufficient arguments.

Many participants were disturbed yesterday because certain weaknesses in the League of Communists continue to be noted rather inertly without being more deeply analyzed. The statistical facts that workers are insufficiently represented in the overall membership of the League of Communists of Serbia and that, according to all criteria, they account for the majority of those leaving the League of Communists are repeated in the report. When one considers this fact, then it is impossible to give a positive assessment about the development of the League of Communists, Marija Zvekic-Miskolci said. She said that to a great extent we are facing an old manner of work in the basic organizations of the League of Communists, and added that the criteria for admitting new members into the League of Communists are poorly respected.

A part of the draft report speaks affirmatively about the ideopolitical and Marxist education of communists, although it is well known that a number of the basic organizations of the League of Communists did not deal with a single topic of the adopted program. In certain circles, ideopolitical education is not accepted as a regular activity, but as something that is imposed by higher organs. It is necessary to say openly that negative phenomena, such as careerism and sycophancy, are evident in the League of Communists, it was said at the session. In addition, it is necessary to emphasize, Dragomir Draskovic said, that in spite of territorial isolation we did not assess whether the existing organizational model of the League of Communists contributes to such a situation in practice. The counterrevolution in Kosovo took place in front of our eyes, yet we assess the ideopolitical situation in the League of Communists in superlatives. When one speaks about the ideopolitical struggle it is necessary to say that passivity is very greatly expressed among members of the League of Communists. What disturbs me in particular is the fact that the draft report is written in such language that it does not motivate anyone, even less motivating activity.

Dragan Gligoric also asked where the League of Communists is going if it does not change the situation but only notes it. He particularly spoke about certain terms contained in the report which are unusual. For instance what does "substantial development" mean? It should also be said that the mass of members does not participate in creating the policy of the League of Communists or in implementing it. There is much forum-like work which cannot be simply overlooked. The doors of the League of Communists are wide open and in many circles admission to its ranks is en masse and in a campaign-like manner.

The activity of the League of Communists at the university, the work of the communal and intercommunal conferences, the economic difficulties which the society encounters, on the one hand, and the increasingly more obvious personal enrichment, on the other hand, were also discussed at the session of the commission. In conclusion, it was noted that the submitted draft report should be radically revised.

KOSOVO PRESIDENCY, LC PRESIDIUM ON EMIGRATION

LD042030 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Pristina, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists discussed today at their joint session the analysis on the phenomena and causes of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in the 1971-1981 period. The Presidency and the Presidium, as the statement on the session says, noted that in the work of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations and organs and other political and self-managing structures and organs of power in the province, for a lengthy period of time numerous weaknesses and omissions have been present which has made the activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism possible and this has exerted a substantial influence on the phenomenon of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from kosovo.

The sociopolitical climate in the earlier period and the numerous weakensses manifested in the implementation of the policy of equality of nations and nationalities in Kosovo, phenomena of opportunism and the inefficient struggle against various antisocialist and antiself-managing and nationalistic activity, in particular in the sphere of education, culture and information, has been conducive to the penetration of nationalistic tendencies, has contributed to the undermining of brotherhood and unity, of togetherness of nations and nationalities, and has exerted a direct influence on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

For a lengthy period of time, the danger from Albanian nationalism and irredentism, which manifested itself in spring last year thourgh the attempt at counterrevolution, had been underestimated. This exerted a particular influence on the undermining of intranational and intrahuman relations and the creation of mistrust and thus also on the speeding up of the process of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

In addition to objective socioeconomic, personal and family reasons, weaknesses in the sphere of providing employment and education as well as a series of other causes too exerted an influence on the emigration. As the session of the Presidency and the Presidium numerous forms and examples of direct pressures which brought about personal insecurity and insecurity regarding the property of the Serbs and Montenegrins and the loss of prospects for their further existence in Kosovo were stressed. It was also pointed out that in the broad sociopolitical activity which has been and which is being waged in Kosovo on the basis of the political platform of the LCY Central Committee and of the action program of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, parallel with real, critical and objective approaches to this problem, there are also tendencies of interpreting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo exslusively with objective socioeconomic, personal and family reasons or exclusively with political and direct pressures.

The Presidency and the Presidium noted that despite measures and actions by the League of Communists, sociopolitical organizations, organs of administration and other factors in the province and municipalities following the enemy counterrevolutionary events, results in halting this phenomenon are still unsatisfactory because in some environments no efficient ideopolitical and administrative measures are taken to create a political climate and conditions of life and work which will restore the security of Serbs and Montenegrins and exert an influence on halting the emigration.

Proceeding from the assessments and attitudes contained in the political platform, the Presidency and the Presidium decided that what is necessary in the next period is a more specific, more decisive and more consistent ideopolitcal struggle and commitment, in the first place of the League of Communists and sociopolitical organizations and organs in all environments in the province, both in monitoring and analyzing these phenomena as well as in taking efficient measures to eliminate the causes of emigration and ensure full personal security and security of property and prospects, strengthen mutual trust, togetherness and further consolidation of brotherhood and unity of nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

The League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations and organs must ensure public condemnation of various pressures and the taking of political, legal and other measures against their exponents.

The tasks of delegate assemblies and of their executive organs, of organs of administration, of judiciary organs and of internal affairs organs in the efficient protection of constitutional and legal rights of all citizens were stressed in particular at the session. This will help a favorable climate of security to be created more speedily and conditions to be created both to halt emigration as well as encourage families to return.

Public information media, it was said at the session, should also actively participate in the general efforts to condemn the phenomena of pressure and should, with their objective critical articles, inform the public of the activities, actions and measures which are being taken in this sphere.

The Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo and the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee stressed at their joint session today the obligation of all organizations, organs and members of the League of Communists, of sociopolitical organizations, delegate assemblies, self-managing and state organs and other social subjects in the province to fight consistently for the elimination of weaknesses which undermine the intranational relations and for the implementation of full national equality, mutual trust, togetherness and brotherhood and unity of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

KOSOVO ASSEMBLY REQUESTS MORE FEDERAL AID

AU041423 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 82 p 7

[D.P. and Z.Z. report]

[Text] Pristina, 1 Feb -- To meet this year's needs and obligations, the users of budgetary funds in the territory on the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will be short of 3.8 billion dinars in the provinvial budget. The sum of demands of all users of the budget totals 14.7 billion dinars, while this year's budgetary revenue totals 11.3 billion dinars, of which the province's own revenue totals 3 billion dinars, while the supplementary funds of the federation total 8.2 billion dinars, or 73.1 percent of the province's overall budget. It is precisely for this reason that the reduction in the federal supplementary funds (897 million dinars) is a significant loss for Kosovo.

For this reason delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, who discussed the bases for this year's budget today, proposed that the supplementary funds be calculated according to the law on supplementary funds of the republics and provinces and according to the bases of the Yugoslav social plan on the policy of more rapid development of the underdeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the 1981-85 period. In the draft measures which should be taken by more sociopolitical communities, delegates of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo propose that the debt of 180 million dinars owned to the province from 1980 should be settled. In addition, delegates propose that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo be given special supplementary funds to meet extraordinary expenses that came about this year and last with the onset of the extraordinary situation in Kosovo. It also proposed that the Socialist Republic of Serbia should in the current medium-term development plan continue to provide additional funds to Kosovo for its further development. According to views expressed by delegates today and according to the adopted proposals, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will ensure maximum measures of economies in spending funds to meet general social and common needs. Nonproduction and noneconomic investments will be reduced as much as possible, and these investments will be approved only in accordance with the plan and if funds are provided. Investments in social activities will be planned with an economical use of funds and by ensuring efficient work and keeping to construction deadlines. In the future, the number of employees in the administrative services will not be increased.

KOSOVO TRADE UNION COUNCIL DISCUSSES OPPORTUNISM

LD041808 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1251 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Pristina, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- The struggle against opportunism and other negative phenomena and their exponents in some collectives in Kosovo is still not decisive enough. This, as noted at the session of the Council of Kosovo Trade Union Federation held in Pristina today, exerts an unfavorable influence on the mobilization of workers to eliminate the consequences of last year's counterrevolutionary events.

Establishing the immediate tasks of the trade union members in implementing the political platform on Kosovo, the Council noted the need to make workers participate fundamentally in self-management and to have them adopt a more responsible attitude towards day-by-day production tasks. Rabit Redzepi, member of the Council's Presidium, stressed in his introductory speech that the trade unions also have to fight against bureaucratization in their own ranks. The practice has shown that alliance with bureaucracy, which is calculated to strengthen personal positions, has inflicted great damage on the trade unions. Redzepi stressed that particular efforts must be made to implement the policy of national equity through resolving the day-by-day living problems of the workers. It is the obligation of the trade union organization to commit itself to creating in (?every) collective an atmosphere of genuine togetherness [word indistinct] and business activity. This will also contribute to a more successful implementation of the province's development plan which envisages that the social product this year will increase by 6.2, industrial production by 6.7 and agricultural output by 4.5 percent.

Pointing out the tasks of the trade unions in implementing the province's development plan, which was also discussed at today's session, [name indistinct] member of the Council's Presidium, pointed in particular to the need for greater work discipline, better work organization and fuller use of production capacities.

The Council also determined today the concept of the preparations for the 16th Conference of the Trade Union Federation which will be held, as decided already earlier, in September this year in Pristina.

CROATIA'S BILIC MEETS RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATIVES

Catholic Bishops Absent

LD032044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- As in the days of the war of national liberation and the revolution, there are many religious people today in the ranks of fighters for stability and the development of our socialist self-managing society. In numerous self-managing bodies in work organizations, the basic cells of our society, atheists and believers alike work as equal members of our society and make decisions in the interest of all on questions of work and life. This was noted over the past few days within the framework of new year's meetings between Jure Bilic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and representatives of five religious communities, Muslim, Christian, Adventist, Baptist and Evangelist communities and the Serbian Orthodox Church.

These talks were appraised on both sides as open and constructive. Representatives of the abovementioned five religious communities empressed their satisfaction with the talks and emphasized their devotion to and loyalty for the social community. However, this year there was no similar meeting with representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, owing to the lack of readiness in individual highest-ranking men in that church to take part in any such talks at this moment.

The meetings in the Assembly also dwelt on certain examples of attempts to manipulate the religious communities from abroad or in the interest of political aims.

The Islamic community, Dr Ahmet Smailovic, chairman of the Council of the Elders for Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, stated during a conversation on this theme, cannot be directed from any foreign center, regardless of whether or not any such attempts came from Mecca, Cairo, Tehran, Tripoli or any other quarter. "Our recent history shows that Yugoslavia's policy on, for instance, the Palestine question, has been more consistent than the policy of many Islamic countries. Its consistence has never been weakened by any petty interests or by the line of lesser resistance and the believers in our country support the strengthening and development of such a society and make their contribution to it," Smajlovic stressed among other things.

More on Meeting

AU041908 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 82 Weekly Supplement p 17

[Nenad Ivankovic report]

[Excerpt] During the recent new year meetings with representatives of religious communities, Jure Bilic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, said among other things: "It is not God that divides us, but politics. And only politics can really divide us...this does not mean at all that we wish the church to serve 'the regime,' as is sometimes said, but only that it should adopt a correct attitude toward the basic values of this sociopolitical community."

We also wish, Bilic said, that every citizen, regardless of religion and ideology, may live in our society in full equality with all other citizens, and that he may fully cooperate in the affairs of the community. At the same time this means being in line with the policy of the national liberation war times, when the party, in the struggle for liberation and new social relations, rallied all the patriotic forces, regardless of national, religious or ideological differences. These new year meetings are in a way a manifestation of the good will and the wish that such a policy should continue, and that difficulties and problems be solved jointly precisely under such auspices, Bilic said, among other things.

In light of these statements, one should in any case examine a fact which certainly should not be passed over in silence in our circumstances. It happened for the first time this year that these receptions were not attended by Catholic bishops. Indeed this is a fact to be regretted, particularly since the majority of bishops -- out of some, partly understandable, solidarity with a few prelates (who under no account wanted to come) -- were "compelled" to stay at home. Regardless of this circumstance (which in its way is indicative of the situation in the highest Catholic Church structures in Croatia), the fact remains that this behavior resembles some of the ways in which the Irish tenants in 1879 treated Mr Boycott (of course we are talking about the ways only).

BRIEFS

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT -- Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia's balance of payments deficit last year was only 750 million dollars, which is as much as one billion and 50 million dollars below the amount planned. [figures as received] Disclosing this figure in tonight's main news programme on Belgrade television, Yugoslav Vice-Premier Branislav Ikonic said the government was not surprised at this favourable figure which came above all as a result of a considerable increase in the export of commodities and [word indistinct] and of rational [word indistinct] by the Yugoslav economy. "Particularly good export results were achieved in the last four months of 1981, Ikonic said. He added that Yugoslav exports had increased by some 22 percent last year. Ikonic assessed that Yugoslavia's balance of payments deficit of 500 million dollars envisaged for this year is realistic and possible to realise. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 29 Jan 82 LD]